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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE  
NEW HAVEN, CONN., AREA—PART 3

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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION

---

FEBRUARY 26 AND 27, 1957

---

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(Including Index)



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(Prior hearings on this subject, Investigation of Communist Activities in the New Haven, Conn., Area—Parts 1 and 2, were held September 24, 25, and 26, 1956 respectively).



PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

\* \* \* \* \*

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## RULES ADOPTED BY THE 85TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1957

### RULE X

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

### RULE XI

#### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

## SYNOPSIS

In New Haven, Conn., February 26 and 27, 1957, the Committee on Un-American Activities continued its investigation into Communist infiltration of labor unions and community groups.

Due to a lack of time at the disposal of the committee members, as well as postponement of some witnesses, granted at their request, the committee did not complete its work at hearings held in New Haven in 1956.

The following persons appeared at the public hearings in 1957: Mattie Sykes, Verne Weed, Harold Rogers, Elsie Willcox, Samuel Richter, Louise Zito, Stanley Michalowski, and Ladislaus J. Michalowski.

All of these witnesses, except Harold Rogers, refused to answer any questions concerning Communist Party membership or Communist Party activities. Harold Rogers denied that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party or that he had ever attended closed meetings of the Communist Party.

Mattie Sykes, a member of the United Electrical Workers from 1943 to 1950, relied upon the fifth amendment and refused to answer numerous questions relating to Communist Party activities within that period. She also refused to discuss Communist Party decisions made on a national level and allegedly transmitted to the rank-and-file members for their guidance in union activities at the Bridgeport plant of General Electric Co. She denied Communist Party membership on and after February 13, 1957, but refused to answer all questions relating to prior membership in the Communist Party and the making of substantial donations to it.

Verne Weed, assistant executive director with the Children's Services of Connecticut, 1940-56, was responsible for the foster home and adoption part of the agency services. In this capacity, she made the decision as to what homes should receive the children and what was the best plan for the child. Miss Weed invoked the fifth amendment when queried about Communist Party activities while employed by the Children's Services of Connecticut. She also relied on the fifth amendment when asked as to present Communist Party membership and activities.

Under the protection of the fifth amendment, Elsie Willcox, executive secretary of the Connecticut Peace Council, refused to testify about its organization, chapters, and activities. Mrs. Willcox also refused to say whether certain individuals, identified as members of the Communist Party, were the heads of various chapters of the Connecticut Peace Council. She also refused to answer questions relating to the attendance of Henry and Anita Willcox at the Asian-Pacific Conference of the World Peace Council at Peking, China, and their participation in the activities of the Connecticut Peace Council on their return to the United States. Mrs. Willcox refused to answer

questions regarding her present or past membership in the Communist Party on the ground that to do so might tend to incriminate her.

Considerable testimony was taken at the hearing regarding the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights. Application for Post Office Box No. 347, New Haven, Conn., was introduced in evidence showing that Bert MacLeech, previously identified as a member of the Communist Party, was chairman of the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights. The testimony disclosed that this post office box was used in connection with the dissemination of propaganda designed to influence the due administration of justice in the Smith Act trials, which took place in New Haven in 1956.

Samuel Richter and Louise Zito were questioned regarding their activities in this organization and the distribution of propaganda emanating from this organization. Committee investigation is continuing regarding the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights and the Connecticut Peace Council.

Stanley Michalowski and Ladislaus J. Michalowski, now employed in industry in New Britain, Conn., refused to inform the committee as to what took place at an alleged meeting of the Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, held in 1953 and attended by delegates from the Communist Party groups in the New Haven area. Stanley Michalowski refused to affirm or deny that he was at one time head of the Communist Party at Hartford. Although he denied Communist Party membership at the time of his appearance before the committee, he refused to answer whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party on the day prior to his appearance as a witness. Ladislaus J. Michalowski refused to state whether or not he is at the present time a member of the Communist Party.



# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW HAVEN, CONN., AREA—PART 3

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New Haven, Conn.*  
PUBLIC HEARING

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, in the United States district court room, United States Courthouse and Post Office Building, New Haven, Conn., at 10 a. m., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, and Bernard W. Kearney, of New York.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel, and Raymond T. Collins, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

I have a brief statement to make before we proceed.

This hearing today is held pursuant to action of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in a meeting held on January 22, 1957. The transcript of the minutes of the meeting on January 22, 1957, will be inserted in the record at this point.

(The transcript follows:)

A motion was made by Mr. Kearney, seconded by Mr. Willis, and unanimously carried, approving and authorizing the holding of hearings in the city of New Haven, Conn., to begin February 26, 1957, and the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, the subject of which hearings and the investigations in connection therewith to include, in general, all matters within the jurisdiction of the committee and, in particular, Communist activities and influence within the field of labor and in the professions and Communist propaganda activities through front organizations.

The following order was entered in the order book of the Committee on Un-American Activities relating to the appointment of a subcommittee to conduct these hearings:

TO the CLERK OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

## ORDER FOR APPOINTMENT OF SUBCOMMITTEE

Pursuant to the provisions of law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, consisting of Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; James B. Frazier, Jr., of Tennessee, and Bernard W. Kearney, of New York, to hold hearings in New Haven, Conn., beginning on February 26, 1957, on all matters within the jurisdiction of the committee, and to take testimony on said day or any succeeding days, and at such times and places as it may deem necessary, until its work is completed.

The clerk of the committee is directed to immediately notify the appointees of their appointment, and to file this order as an official committee record in the order book kept for that purpose.

Given under my hand this 29th day of January 1957.

FRANCIS E. WALTER,  
*Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

Mr. WILLIS. By order of the chairman, pursuant to the action of the committee on that day, a subcommittee was appointed, composed of Edwin E. Willis, myself, of Louisiana, as chairman; James B. Frazier, Jr., of Tennessee; and Bernard W. Kearney, of New York. Mr. Frazier was unable to attend, but there being two here, a quorum is present.

This hearing is essentially a continuation of the hearings conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives in New Haven, Conn., on the 24th through the 26th of September, last year, 1956.

Due to lack of time at the disposal of the committee members and due to the postponement of the appearance of some of the witnesses, granted at their request, the committee did not complete its work in New Haven in 1956.

I call attention to the subject of the hearings as authorized by the committee action on January 22, 1957, and also to part of a statement of the subcommittee chairman made at the beginning of the hearings on September 24, 1956, which I now reiterate.

In the recent past, criminal proceedings were held in this city involving certain alleged violations of the Smith Act. The proposed hearings of this committee will not purport to cover the same subject matter. Rather, these hearings will show the general pattern of Communist Party activities in the State of Connecticut.

This is a continuation of similar investigations and hearings held throughout the Nation by the committee. During the year, the committee has held hearings in Charlotte, N. C.; Denver, Colo.; Chicago, Ill.; Los Angeles, Calif.; and St. Louis, Mo., where information was furnished to this committee on Communist activities in these particular localities.

These area hearings on the Communist conspiracy throughout the United States are to enable the committee to gain current knowledge of the operation of the conspiracy so as to enable us to formulate such legislation as the facts may warrant.

When investigating Communists and Communist activities, this committee frequently has been met with the false and unfounded charge that the committee is merely seeking headlines, that we are a group of Fascists, that we are engaged in witch hunting, and the like. Such charges will not dissuade us from our task, I assure you. We seek the facts, and only facts.

In the conduct of this hearing, we are not interested in any dispute between labor and management or between one union and another union. We propose to ascertain the facts on Communist activity, irrespective of the field in which it occurs, so that the Congress will be enabled to legislate more ably and comprehensively to protect the security of our Nation.

It is a standing rule of this committee that any person identified as a member of the Communist Party during the course of the committee



hearings be given an early opportunity to appear before this committee, if he desires, for the purpose of denying or explaining any testimony adversely affecting him.

I would remind those present that we are here as Members of the Congress and as authorized and directed by the Congress of the United States, to discharge a duty placed upon us by Public Law 601.

Spectators are here by permission of the committee. A disturbance of any kind or audible comment during the testimony, whether favorable or unfavorable to any witness or the committee, will not be tolerated. Any infraction of this rule will result in the offender being ejected from the hearing room.

Please observe the rules of the Federal court that there is no smoking in this room.

There is one comment which I desire to add to the foregoing statement.

This committee takes the position that every witness appearing before it should, if he desires, have counsel accompany him. In this connection, I desire to make it clear that the fact that a lawyer appears before this committee as counsel for a witness certainly should not, and cannot, be taken as disparagement of the lawyer for so doing. In fact, we invite counsel to be present.

Mr. Kearney, would you care to supplement the statement?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Tavenner, please call your first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Mattie Sykes. Will you come forward, please.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you please rise and be sworn.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mrs. SYKES. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF MRS. MATTIE SYKES, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CATHERINE G. RORABACK

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mrs. SYKES. Mattie Sykes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you accompanied by counsel?

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify herself for the record.

MISS RORABACK. Catherine G. Roraback, 185 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

I might also ask that Mrs. Sykes has requested there be no television or photographs during her testimony.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Sykes, are you a native of this area?

Mrs. SYKES. Bridgeport.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you born here?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the State of Connecticut?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in the State of Connecticut?

Mrs. SYKES. Since 1938.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1938?

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your present occupation or employment?

Mrs. SYKES. At the present—

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I am unemployed.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your last employment?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. General Electric.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the nature of your employment?

Mrs. SYKES. I was an assembler.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long had you been employed at General Electric?

Mrs. SYKES. Since 1943.

Mr. KEARNEY. You say you are not employed now?

Mrs. SYKES. I am unemployed.

Mr. KEARNEY. I did not hear you.

Miss RORABACK. "I am unemployed."

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether during the period of your employment at General Electric you were a member of a labor union or unions?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what unions were you a member?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. Of the IUE-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of any other union besides the IUE?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union?

Mrs. SYKES. The UE.

Mr. TAVENNER. The UE?

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time were you a member of the UE?

Mrs. SYKES. 1943.

Mr. TAVENNER. Until what date?

Mrs. SYKES. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know the approximate date, do you not?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. Well, until the new union came in. When it was. I don't remember; 1950, I think, but I don't know the date or the month.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position in either of the unions with which you were identified?

Mrs. SYKES. In the UE—in the IUE. I was a steward at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Which did you say?

Mrs. SYKES. In the IUE, I was a steward at one time.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold a similar position in the UE?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hold any position in the UE?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Sykes, the committee, during the course of these hearings, has received information indicating that, at the Gen-

eral Electric plant at which you worked, there was a concentration of Communist activity. Were you aware of the existence of such activity at the plant while you were employed there?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss RORABACK. I am afraid she didn't understand the question. Will you rephrase it?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. The committee has learned, during the course of this investigation, that the Communists centered and concentrated their efforts within the labor unions at the General Electric plant. Now I am asking you if you knew, of your own personal knowledge, that such activity was taking place.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I can't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. You can't remember?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if I can refresh your recollection.

Was there an organized group of the Communist Party, known as the General Electric group or cell of the Communist Party, made up of members employed at the plant? That is the General Electric plant where you were employed.

Mrs. SYKES. Do you mean should I have known them through the company or through the union?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you if you knew whether there was such an organization.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I didn't know of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't know of any such organization?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of any group of employees at the General Electric plant organized as a unit of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I shall decline to answer that on the 1st and 5th amendments.

Mr. KEARNEY. Just a minute. How does the witness reconcile her previous statement that she didn't know of any Communist cell in the General Electric Co. and now she declines to answer?

Mr. TAVENNER. It is very difficult for me to understand.

Miss RORABACK. Possibly her confusion is as to questions. I thought they were two separate questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then let us clear it up. After all, the statements are so contradictory to each other, it doesn't make sense.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me put it more directly to you.

Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time while you were employed at the General Electric plant?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with a person by the name of Josephine Willard?

Mrs. SYKES. I also decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now I told you I would try to refresh your recollection when you said you could not remember about an organized group of the Communist Party at the General Electric plant.

Is it not true that Josephine Willard, while chairman of the City Committee of the Communist Party, was also the head of a Communist Party group at General Electric? Is that not true?

Mrs. SYKES. I also decline to answer it on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were acquainted with Josephine Willard, were you not?

Mrs. SYKES. I also decline to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know that she was one of the principal leaders of the Communist Party in the Bridgeport area; do you not?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you a member of the Communist Party at the present time?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. KEARNEY. What?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. KEARNEY. You are not at present?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party when your employment terminated at General Electric?

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time between 1952 and 1954?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I decline to answer that also.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you terminate your membership in the Communist Party before you left the employ of the General Electric Co.?

Mrs. SYKES. I decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if I can further refresh your recollection about happenings at the General Electric plant.

The committee is informed that there were two large meetings of leaders of the Communist Party, conducted by Martha Stone, a functionary of the Communist Party on a national level, and that these meetings were held in Bridgeport in 1953.

Did you attend either of those meetings?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not.

Did Josephine Willard transmit to you at the General Electric plant the policy decisions that were made at either of those two meetings?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. No; she didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did she transmit those policy decisions to the cell generally in General Electric?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to answer that.



Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to answer. You say she did not give those directions to you, but you will not answer as to whether or not she gave the directions to the cell at General Electric?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why do you refuse to answer?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. Because of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You feel that to answer that question might tend to incriminate you? Is that what you honestly feel?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not true that you learned of those policy decisions that had been made on the national level while you were employed at General Electric?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. You decline to answer on what grounds?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. On the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of this investigation, the committee has learned that, at about this period in 1953, it became apparent that the Communist Party was taking a position in opposition to the UE at the Bridgeport plant. Do you know why that was, if it is true?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. You decline to answer?

Is it not a fact that the policy was handed down from the national level of the Communist Party that the Communist Party members at the General Electric plant were not to openly support the UE?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't that true?

Can you assign to this committee any reason why the Communist Party should change or alter its policy in this regard?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it not because the UE was under severe attack as a Communist-controlled union, and it was believed that the Communists would have greater difficulty working within that union because of what they termed to be "redbaiting"?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you and other persons working at the General Electric plant given Communist Party direction to infiltrate the IUE and work there quietly? Weren't you given that direction?

Mrs. SYKES. I decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Assuming that this information is correct, that there was this change in policy on the part of the Communist Party as to the UE in the Bridgeport plant, do you know whether there was a similar change in policy in the Communist Party at any other place?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you learn, while an employee at the General Electric plant, what the purpose of the Communist Party was in concentrating its efforts in the unions having contracts with that plant?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Actually both unions have contracts with that plant, have they not, at the same time? Both are there today, both the UE and the IUE?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I think so, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. The UE has the contract in the part called the powerhouse or the powerplant of General Electric. That is true; is it not?

Mrs. SYKES. I don't know what department they are in.

Mr. TAVENNER. And the IUE, of which you were a member when your employment ceased, had the contract in the production phase of the work of General Electric. That is true; is it not?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. While you were employed at the General Electric plant, did you attend closed meetings of the Communist Party?

Mrs. SYKES. I decline to answer on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you active in the raising of funds for use by the Communist Party?

Mrs. SYKES. I decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not a fact that in 1953 you made a pledge of at least \$100 and, at the time that you made the pledge, you paid at least \$50 of it in cash to Josephine Willard in your home?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not a fact that that fund drive, and the money which you donated to it, was to be used for two principal purposes: One, by the Daily Worker of the Communist Party and, the other, for assistance in underground work of the Communist Party?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you not a regular contributor to the sustaining fund of the Communist Party?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you now a contributor to the sustaining fund of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now you have refused to answer the question as to whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party between 1952 and 1954, and you said you were not a member of the Communist Party when you left the employment at General Electric.

Will you refresh my mind, please, as to when you left the employment of the General Electric? You stated it, but I did not clearly hear it.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. When I got laid off?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. SYKES. This last time?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. SYKES. February 13.

Mr. TAVENNER. Of what year?

Mrs. SYKES. 1957.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1957. I don't believe you stated that. I probably——

Mrs. SYKES. You did not ask me.

Mr. TAVENNER. You said you were not a member of the Communist Party on the day that your employment terminated?

Mrs. SYKES. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party the day before?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then it is apparent, is it not, that you severed your connection with the Communist Party when you left your employment at General Electric?

Mrs. SYKES. I still refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended any meetings of the Communist Party since February 13, 1957?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the last date on which you did attend a Communist Party meeting?

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has been ascertained by the committee, during the course of this investigation, that the leadership in the Communist Party directed the Communist Party members to help out in the defense of those being tried under the Smith Act as alleged members of the Communist Party who were brought to trial under the Smith Act.

Did you receive any such direction?

Mrs. SYKES. I still refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. It has come to the committee's attention that that assistance which was demanded of the membership consisted of a number of things, such as the sending of telegrams to the President of the United States; the signing of petitions addressed to Judge Medina; the writing of letters to the local press and other papers attacking the prosecution; and the influencing of, as far as the members could, organizations to which they belonged.

Did you engage in any of that type of activity?

Mrs. SYKES. I still refuse to answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. You what?

MISS RORABACK. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if the photographers could stop the taking of pictures while this is going on. It is throwing Mrs. Sykes off.

Mr. KEARNEY. I did not hear that answer.

Mr. WILLIS. She declined.

Mr. TAVENNER. On what grounds do you refuse to answer? What is your reason for refusing to answer?

Mrs. SYKES. On the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you honestly believe that to answer that question might tend to incriminate you?

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of the first page of the June 22, 1949, issue of the Daily Worker. In bold type across the top of the page is: "Unionists Call Conference on Medina's Jailings."

Then, bracketed in a square, is a heading: "Chicago Negro GOP, Demo (meaning Democratic) Women Protest the Jailing of Gil Green."

Does that refresh your recollection as to any part that you played in that?

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me hand you the document, and ask you to read the second paragraph appearing in the blocked-off space.

(The witness examines document.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read that paragraph aloud, please?

Mrs. SYKES. Where it starts my name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to read it?

Mrs. SYKES. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, it can't incriminate you to read it. I am not asking you yet whether it is true or not. I am just asking you to read it.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES (reading):

Mrs. Mattie Sykes, Negro, declared I am a Democrat—

What is that?

Mr. TAVENNER. Read the rest of it.

Mrs. SYKES. What is that?

Miss RORABACK. Precinct.

Mrs. SYKES (reading):

precinct captain, but I believe in right of Communists to defend themselves. Urge you give Gilbert Green the freedom to defend his democratic rights. I am opposed to your action jailing him.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't write that, did you?

Mrs. SYKES. No; I didn't write it.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who wrote it for you?

(There was no response.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Who wrote it for you?

Mrs. SYKES. I refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. You permitted it to be written in your name, didn't you?

Mrs. SYKES. I still refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Actually you were doing just what the Communist Party asked you to do, namely, to engage in a propaganda campaign



in behalf of the interests of the Communist Party in permitting this to be done, were you not?

Mrs. SYKES. I still refuse to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was it that came to you to make the arrangement to put this in the paper, in the Daily Worker, over your name?

Mrs. SYKES. I still refuse to answer that on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other activities of a similar character did you engage in? Did you send telegrams, too?

Mrs. SYKES. I still decline to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you go to other organizations of which you were a member and try to influence them to support the Communist Party position in that trial?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. SYKES. I decline to answer that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all I desire to ask the witness.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will be excused.

Call your next witness, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Verne Weed. Come forward, please.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss WEED. I do.

I would appreciate no pictures or TV.

### TESTIMONY OF VERNE WEED, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID SCRIBNER

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please?

Miss WEED. Verne Weed.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted you are accompanied by counsel.

Mr. WILLIS. How do you spell the name?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your name for the record?

Miss WEED. W-e-e-d.

Mr. TAVENNER. And what is the spelling of your first name?

Miss WEED. Verne, V-e-r-n-e.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel please identify himself.

Mr. SCRIBNER. David Scribner, S-c-r-i-b-n-e-r, 9 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Weed, will you tell the committee, please, what your present occupation or employment is?

Miss WEED. I am a doctoral student at the New York School of Social Work.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a native of the area, of this general area of the State of Connecticut?

Miss WEED. No; I have lived here 15 years. I moved in the summer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Miss WEED. In Columbus, Ind.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Connecticut?

Miss WEED. I lived here 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where have you lived in Connecticut?

Miss WEED. I lived in Avon and in the Hartford area—Avon, Granby, and Hartford.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that considered, generally, as the Hartford area?

Miss WEED. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how long a period of time did you live there?

Miss WEED. In the Hartford area?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Miss WEED. 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you leave Hartford?

Miss WEED. The middle of August.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1956?

Miss WEED. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee briefly what your formal educational training has been?

Miss WEED. I have a master's degree from the School of Social Work, and I—

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you receive your degree?

Miss WEED. From the New York School of Social Work.

Mr. TAVENNER. The same place where you are attending school now?

Miss WEED. That is right; where I am doing my doctoral work. And prior to that I graduated from the University of Colorado.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you graduate from Colorado?

Miss WEED. 1930; June of 1930.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you recall the existence on the campus at Colorado University at that time, at the time you were there, of an organized group of the Communist Party?

Miss WEED. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not.

The committee has recently held hearings, or within the past year, in Denver. And there was an organized group of the Communist Party there, though I am unable to recall the exact date, in which students were induced to leave college and enter industry to become Communist Party leaders in industry, or, that is, in labor organizations working in industry.

Do you have any knowledge or know anything about that?

Miss WEED. I went to college and went into social work.

Mr. TAVENNER. That would not bar you from having knowledge of that, certainly, in itself.

Miss WEED. Well, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. What has been your employment since arriving in Connecticut?

Miss WEED. I worked for the Children's Services of Connecticut.

Mr. WILLIS. What year was that?

Miss WEED. I came in 1940, in the fall of 1940, as a supervisor, and I had various supervisory positions there, and then was the assistant executive director for a number of years. Before I resigned, my work was responsible for the foster home and adoption part of the service under the executive, and for community work related to improving services to children.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was that a statewide organization?

Miss WEED. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you describe your duties a little more fully, please?

Miss WEED. Well, as I say, the agency has foster home, adoption, and institutional services.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the "foster home"? Does it go by a name?

Miss WEED. It means placing children in foster homes.

Mr. TAVENNER. I see.

Miss WEED. Who probably will be going back to their own families. And then an adoption program for children who will not be going back to their own families. And we also had an institutional program.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your responsibility?

Miss WEED. My responsibility was for the foster home and adoption part of the agency services to the executive director. People worked under me who were making—

Mr. TAVENNER. You would make decisions as to what homes should receive what children?

Miss WEED. Yes; placing the children, working with the parents around, reestablishing the home around their decision as to whether or not they could reestablish a home, and what was the best plan for the child.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the Children's Village?

Miss WEED. That is the institutional part of the agency service.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any connection with that?

Miss WEED. My responsibility was for the foster home and adoption part of the service.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any responsibility in connection with the Children's Village?

Miss WEED. I worked in there as a caseworker for a short period of time.

Mr. TAVENNER. During what period of time?

Miss WEED. I think it was around 1951, maybe. We were short-staffed. So I went into it on an emergency basis to work directly with the children.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not in 1954 there was a group organized in Hartford known as the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

Miss WEED. Given the nature of this hearing, that is the kind of question I want to claim the fifth amendment on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you speak in a very general way about it.

Miss WEED. I have done what I could for peace. That specific question I would claim the fifth amendment on.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the peace effort in any way connected with the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

Miss WEED. Well, I think I will say the same, that civil rights is something I am interested in as a general subject in terms that I would—

Mr. TAVENNER. What does this peace matter that you spoke of have to do with the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

Miss WEED. To get back to your question—

Mr. TAVENNER. No. I want to get back to your answer.

Miss WEED. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the connection?

Miss WEED. I misunderstood your question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Oh. Well, all right.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you pursue that a little bit. You said that took place in 1934, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. 1954.

Mr. WILLIS. I mean 1954.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1954, yes.

Actually you were the local head of that chapter or organization, were you not, known as the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were also head of the local group in the peace matter that you just spoke of, were you not?

Miss WEED. Well, I will repeat again, I did what I could for peace. In terms of that particular question, given the kind of hearing this is, I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. What do you mean "the kind of hearing this is"?

Miss WEED. You want to know my opinion?

I was subpoenaed here. I was brought here.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right. You are here under subpoena.

Miss WEED. And I consider it an undemocratic committee inquiring into the area of opinions, ideas.

Mr. KEARNEY. I have heard that line before.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of this peace organization that you said you got confused, or you misunderstood my question, and you started to answer? What was the name of that organization?

Miss WEED. I thought you had said—Whatever organization you said. I didn't catch it. I'm sorry.

Mr. TAVENNER. What organization was it that you had reference to?

Miss WEED. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't know? Well, now, what was in your mind?

Miss WEED. I know—No, I can't—

Mr. TAVENNER. You said that you endeavored to do what you could for peace when you thought I was asking you about your work in an organization. I want to know what organization it was you had in mind.

Miss WEED. I am not able to say. I have no organization in mind.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are not able to say? Wasn't it the Connecticut Peace Crusade that you had in mind?

Miss WEED. I just misunderstood you.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you not have it in mind? Or the American Peace Crusade?

Miss WEED. I had nothing in mind that I can put my finger on at this point.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, you were at the head of the American Peace Crusade chapter at Hartford, were you not?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. You understood that question all right.

Miss WEED. He asked that clearly. What was in my mind 2 minutes ago is something else. I can't remember what was in my mind when I misunderstood the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. You can't remember what was in your mind 2 minutes ago?



Mr. SCRIBNER. It has happened to me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what the purpose of the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights was, if you know?

Miss WEED. Given the kind of hearing this is, I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. There wasn't any secret about it, was there?

Miss WEED. The same.

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't the work of that organization done openly in the community of Hartford?

Miss WEED. Again, if this were a general discussion—not this kind of inquisitorial questioning about an organization—it would be a different question. In terms of this committee—

Mr. TAVENNER. Wasn't that organization formed simultaneously at Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven in September of 1954?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it not the purpose of that organization to collect funds for the Smith Act case that was pending in the local courts here?

Miss WEED. Again, I am in a general way for civil liberties. In terms of tying down answers to specific organizations which this committee—not necessarily I—have questions about, I assert the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, when you talk about the questions that this committee may have about it, we are trying to ascertain the facts regarding this organization. You are in a position, we believe, by which you could give this committee facts in regard to it, and that is what we are asking you to do.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you believe that if you answered these questions you would be supplying information that might tend to incriminate you or to subject you to criminal prosecution?

Miss WEED. It might in terms of the witch-hunt kind of atmosphere that gets stirred up.

Mr. WILLIS. I won't accept that answer, and you are bordering on contempt there.

Let me make this statement, and you are represented by counsel. You have a perfect right to invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment if you believe that the answer might tend to incriminate you or might supply information which could be used against you in a criminal prosecution. You have that right. We respect it and we wouldn't have it otherwise. But, in order to invoke it, you must be honest. You must not be facetious or contemptuous of a committee of the Congress by tying in your fear with witch hunting and so forth.

Now plead it, but don't hedge. That is my last admonition to you on the subject.

Now I ask you again: Is the reason for your failure to answer these questions an honest fear—

Miss WEED. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. That you might be supplying information that would subject you to criminal proceedings?

Miss WEED. Yes; that I might lay myself open to unfounded prosecution.

Mr. WILLIS. To unfounded prosecution? Is that the way you want to leave the record?

Miss WEED. Let me confer.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. Well, I am using the fifth amendment privilege here—and I wanted to say this a number of times—in the sense for which it was intended, as a protection to the innocent. I am not taking this on the basis that I think every time I take the fifth amendment privilege that means that really is true, but I don't want to say it. I am taking it in that sense; that is, it is a protection to the innocent, and I am very grateful for it.

Mr. WILLIS. We are all proud of it. But, unfortunately, it is a refuge for the guilty sometimes.

Miss WEED. I take it as a protection for the innocent.

Mr. WILLIS. Now, about the formation of this organization, do you know whether, simultaneously or about the same time—what is the name of that organization?

Mr. TAVENNER. Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights.

Mr. WILLIS. The Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights sprang up, mushroomed here in 1954? Do you know whether that—

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know whether that organization came into being?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know that the real genesis, the real crux, the heart, the purpose of it was an inspiration by the Communists to band their members together to raise funds and to create a hullabaloo in connection with the contemplated Smith Act trials? Do you know that?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. WILLIS. Because our information so indicates.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is it not also a fact that another purpose of the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights was to conduct a campaign in the community to depreciate what the Communists called "congressional witch hunts." Wasn't that another purpose of that organization?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether the leadership in the Communist Party gave a direction to its members to become active in that organization?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Sam Richter was one of the leading personalities in the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Sam Richter?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Joe Barnes was another promoter of the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege; and in addition, I certainly wouldn't want to subject anyone to harassment through my mentioning their name.

Mr. TAVENNER. You wouldn't be subjecting him to harassment. He has been here before this committee. He has had an opportunity to testify. He has refused to do so. You are not subjecting him to harassment.

Now will you answer the question?

Mr. KEARNEY. I might say to the witness, Mr. Counsel, he tried to subject the committee to harassment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I think the record shows that.

Mr. KEARNEY. But he didn't get away with it.

Miss WEED. My chief reason, I said, was I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Joe Barnes?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Jake Goldring—

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was also one of those leading personalities in the establishment of this organization?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, at the time that you were employed in the Children's Services that you described, and taking responsibility for the supervising of the placing of foster children, during that period of time did you secretly attend Communist Party meetings in New Haven?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege for the purpose for which it was intended originally—protection of the innocent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you familiar with the address of 37 Howe Street, New Haven?

Miss WEED. What did you have in mind? That doesn't ring a bell offhand. I don't remember streets.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know where 37 Howe Street is?

Miss WEED. I can't say that I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. If I were to refresh your recollection and tell you that it was the headquarters of the Communist Party, would your mind be refreshed?

Miss WEED. I would claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend in 1953, in January 1953, a Communist Party fund meeting held at 37 Howe Street, New Haven?

Miss WEED. Again, given the nature of this hearing, I claim the fifth amendment privilege, and for the purpose for which it was intended—protecting the innocent.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest, after the admonition you have given to the witness as to her present statements about harassment before answering the question, and in view of the aims and views of this committee, I ask you to direct the witness to answer this question.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer that last question.

Miss WEED. What question?

Mr. WILLIS. Repeat it.

(Whereupon, the record was read by the reporter as follows:

"Did you attend in 1953, in January 1953, a Communist Party fund meeting held at 37 Howe Street, New Haven?")

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. The reason I ask that, Mr. Chairman, is, if I remember correctly, it was only a few seconds ago she didn't know where 37 Howe Street was.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, it is an odd situation, but apparently she is unwilling to—

Miss WEED. Perhaps some people remember streets better than I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, let me put the question in another way.

Did you attend, in January 1953, a Communist Party fund meeting in New Haven?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a Communist Party fund meeting in New Haven at any time?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time that you held the responsible position in the Children's Services, did you secretly attend meetings of Freedom of the press?

Miss WEED. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Held in New Haven?

Now will you answer that?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. During this same period of time, when you held this position, did you secretly attend statewide meetings of the Communist Party?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. In New Haven?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or let me put it this way: Did you attend any Communist Party meetings in New Haven while you held this position with the Children's Services?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. WILLIS. I think, for the record, you had better clarify the Freedom of the Press organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the organization Freedom of the Press?

Miss WEED. The same answer.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a great institution here in America.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do any local reporters or editors of various newspapers in this area belong to that organization?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. I thought so.

Mr. TAVENNER. This was the branch of the work of the Communist Party, of course, which dealt with support of the Communist publications.

Did you ever make a contribution to any of the publications of the Communist Party through Freedom of the Press?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Was your Freedom of the Press organization directed solely toward contributions to the Daily Worker?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. Was it directed to any other newspaper?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. If it was not directed to any other newspaper, would you so inform the committee?

Miss WEED. I don't understand that question.



Mr. KEARNEY. If your efforts were not directed to any other newspaper besides the Daily Worker, would you inform this committee to that effect?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. I don't understand the question at all.

Mr. KEARNEY. You are a college graduate, ma'am, and I thought I made myself perfectly clear. You said the Freedom of the Press, this organization known as the Freedom of the Press, directed its interests to the press. Is that correct?

Miss WEED. That is a confusion. I did not say that.

Mr. KEARNEY. What did you say?

Miss WEED. Counsel said that. I don't know—there was some such question.

Mr. KEARNEY. Let's refer back and see what she said.

Miss WEED. I said the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is right. That is what I was getting at. You took the fifth amendment privilege.

Miss WEED. I didn't say what he said.

Mr. KEARNEY. And then, when I asked you if it was directed toward the Daily Worker, you also declined to answer.

Miss WEED. That is right.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now I ask you again, was it directed to any other newspaper in this locality or in the State of Connecticut?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. I feel I will have to use the fifth amendment privilege on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. At the time that you held this responsible position with Children's Services, were you under the discipline of the Communist Party?

Miss WEED. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you were not under discipline of the Communist Party at that time, would you so tell this committee?

Miss WEED. I would use the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all I desire to ask. But I would like to ask the witness to remain. A little later, I may want to ask another question or two.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness will remain under subpoena.

Do you want to take a 5-minute recess?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Miss WEED. May I go out for a few minutes?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will take a 5-minute informal recess.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

(Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

(The committee was reconvened at the expiration of the recess. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. I would like to call Miss Verne Weed.

Miss Weed, were you present in the hearing room, this same room that we are in now, on September 26, 1956, at which time Miss Rowena R. Paumi was a witness?

Miss WEED. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. At that time, she identified you as a person known to her as a member of the Communist Party. You learned of that fact, did you not, even if you were not here?

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. That couldn't possibly incriminate you, to answer the question whether or not you learned after her testimony that she had identified you as a member of the Communist Party.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. I claim the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. You claim the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, I will order her to answer that question. It is not incriminatory. It is very vital, obviously, to what the succeeding questions are going to be. She herself used the words about this committee, about witch hunting and so on. And the next line of the witnesses is to say that we have information unrevealed to them and, therefore, they can't defend themselves.

He is simply asking you did you learn. If you didn't learn say "No." If you learned say "Yes."

The witness he has referred to, under oath, under the pains and penalties of perjury, just like you are, laid it on the line and swore that you were, or had been, a member of the Communist Party.

The question is: Did you learn that she had so stated?

Mr. SCRIBNER. The witness is being directed to answer that question?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes; I have ordered her to answer that question.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. I heard that she had said something like that in connection with the publicity that was given the trial in New Haven a year ago. In terms of—

Mr. WILLIS. You are not being asked about this trial. This is no trap question.

Miss WEED. In terms of this recent thing, I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't know? But you did know that in the trial of the Smith Act cases she had so testified there?

Miss WEED. Publicity; yes. It was in the paper.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, in fact, right after she so testified in that case, you went before the executive committee of the Children's Services, did you not?

Miss WEED. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. There you denied any participation in Communist Party activities, didn't you?

Miss WEED. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. You also denied to your committee that you had attended any closed meetings of the Communist Party, didn't you?

Miss WEED. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. You weren't under oath then, were you?

(There was no response.)

Mr. TAVENNER. You weren't under oath, were you?

Miss WEED. Just a minute.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; you weren't under oath when you denied it. Would you deny it under oath before any group authorized to take an oath at this time?

Miss WEED. That seems to me academic. In terms of this committee, I would assert the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. The question was whether she would deny it before any authority capable of administering an oath?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer that question.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. Well, it still seems to me completely hypothetical.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am not interested in what it seems to you.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct her to answer.

Miss WEED. The fifth amendment privilege then.

Mr. KEARNEY. That was a fine little speech you just made.

Did this statement that you made not under oath appear in any of the local newspapers in this area?

Miss WEED. I believe a part of a board report appeared from the board of directors. Just what was in that, I can't recall.

Mr. KEARNEY. I show you the Hartford Courant under date of Tuesday morning, April 17, 1956, and call your attention to this picture, and ask you if that is your picture.

(The witness examines document.)

Miss WEED. Yes, it looks like me.

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that the statement that you gave to the press not under oath at that time?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. This is a release from the agency. It is not a statement from me to the press.

Mr. KEARNEY. What is that?

Miss WEED. This is a statement from the agency to the press; not from me to the press. I made no statement to the press at that time.

Mr. KEARNEY. How did the agency get the statement to release to the press? Did you have anything to do with formulating that statement?

Miss WEED. This is the agency statement that I was resigning my position.

Mr. KEARNEY. Why did you resign your position?

Miss WEED. In order to take further professional training.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you resign your position because they found that you were a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WEED. I resigned it to take further professional training.

Mr. KEARNEY. I asked you, Did you resign your position because they learned that you were a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. No.

Mr. KEARNEY. Now I give you a chance to state under oath whether or not you are now, or ever have been, a member of the Communist Party.

Miss WEED. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Sid Taylor?

Miss WEED. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. How well were you acquainted with Robert Ekins?

Miss WEED. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know Jim Tate?

Miss WEED. Fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Joe Demow?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting of the Freedom of the Press on Bushy Hill Road at Granby, Conn.?

Miss WEED. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Any questions, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes; I have, Mr. Chairman. It is concerning this portion of the story in the Hartford Courant under date of April 17, 1956. The headline is: "Miss Weed Resigns Post with Children's Services." That is the paper that I just had counsel show you, where you identified the picture in the paper as being your picture.

One portion of this story, you said, was released by your executive committee. Is that right?

Miss WEED. I didn't read the story. So I would have to read this to see what exactly is quoted in it.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right. Did you give any story to the papers?

Miss WEED. No.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then I ask you this:

Of course, as I say, this story was not released under oath.

Later, before the executive committee of Children's Services, Miss Weed denied any participation in Communist Party activities. She also said she had not attended any closed meetings of the party.

Is that true or not true?

Miss WEED. Well, I assert the fifth amendment privilege.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one other question.

Our investigation shows that Stanley Michalowski is a resident of Hartford, Conn. How well acquainted are you with Mr. Michalowski?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss WEED. There is just a faint bell that rings to me. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is released.

Will you call your next witness, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Harold Rogers.

Mr. WILLIS. Will you please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. ROGERS. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF HAROLD L. ROGERS

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Mr. Harold Rogers?

Mr. ROGERS. Correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are not accompanied by counsel. The committee follows the practice of advising every witness that he is entitled to have counsel with him if he desires.



Mr. ROGERS. That I understand very well.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. ROGERS. Charlotte, N. C., January 9, 1918.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you lived in Connecticut?

Mr. ROGERS. Well, I have lived three-fifths of my life in—I mean in North Carolina. And two-fifths—15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. You came here 15 years ago?

Mr. ROGERS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where have you lived during that 15-year period? That is, in what community?

Mr. ROGERS. I lived in Success Park.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that at——

Mr. ROGERS. Bridgeport.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived there the entire period you have lived in Connecticut?

Mr. ROGERS. No. I have lived in other places. I lived there about 13 years, 14 years. And I live now on Bunnell Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. But in the same general area?

Mr. ROGERS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. That of Bridgeport?

Mr. ROGERS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us, please, how you have been employed since you have been in Bridgeport?

Mr. ROGERS. Well, the employment situation has been pretty rough according to a man with my specifications and qualifications. I have 2 years of college, and I am finding adequate employment has been a problem for me, up until lately. Things are changing now gradually. And, of course, I am a mechanic by trade, and have done mechanic work in different organizations and different trucking concerns. And the last job, I worked at Singer Sewing Machine Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. ROGERS. Three years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Your employment began in what year then?

Mr. ROGERS. In 1954.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to 1954, how were you employed?

Mr. ROGERS. Well, I was on the job training; the longest I was on the job training at garage work, doing mechanical work.

Mr. TAVENNER. For whom did you work?

Mr. ROGERS. Chris Tini, North Avenue, Bridgeport.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. ROGERS. About 4 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. That brings us back to 1950. How were you employed prior to 1950?

Mr. ROGERS. Let me make a statement here about how long I had been in Bridgeport. I haven't been here quite 15 years. I would say 14 years. I came here in 1943, see.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, prior to 1950, how were you employed?

Mr. ROGERS. Prior to 1950?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. You have taken us back to 1950, if I understood you correctly. You first said back to 1954 you worked for Singer. And from 1954 back to 1950 you worked in supervising this training of mechanics.

Mr. ROGERS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, before 1950, where were you employed?

Mr. ROGERS. From 19—Let me start it from the beginning. That is the best way to do.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. ROGERS. From 1943, I worked about 2 weeks out at AFCCO; out at Chance-Vought. I only worked there 2 weeks. Then the next job I had—I think I went to work for the Bridgeport Aluminum Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you stay there?

Mr. ROGERS. I stayed there probably a year and a half.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. And next?

Mr. ROGERS. I worked for Lock Steel Chain Co. at Bridgeport. I stayed there about a year.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Mr. ROGERS. Then from Lock Steel Chain I went to Associated Transportation.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long did you work there?

Mr. ROGERS. I worked there a couple of years; a year and a half or a couple of years.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. Next?

Mr. ROGERS. Bridgeport Rolling Mill.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long were you there?

Mr. ROGERS. One year.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any other employment between that time and the time you took your work in 1950?

Mr. ROGERS. I had no other employment.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right, sir.

Were you present in the hearing room—

Mr. ROGERS. At what time?

Mr. TAVENNER. On the 26th day of September 1956, when Miss Rowena R. Paumi was a witness here before the committee?

Mr. ROGERS. No; I wasn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not?

Mr. ROGERS. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you subsequently learn that she had identified you in her testimony?

Mr. ROGERS. That I did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROGERS. I was never a member of the Communist Party then and at no time, to my knowledge, being a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROGERS. Well, I wouldn't know because I don't have the necessary knowledge of what Communist Party meetings are really like. I have attended quite a few meetings of different origins, racial meetings, civil-rights meetings, and religious meetings as well.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say you don't know whether you attended Communist Party meetings or not. Is that correct?

Mr. ROGERS. That I don't. That I did say, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Miss Paumi?

Mr. ROGERS. Well, I have seen her. I saw her several times. But I am not what you say—might say, acquainted with her.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings at which she was present?

Mr. ROGERS. I don't know about any meetings, but I have been in quite a few outings that she was present.

Mr. TAVENNER. A few what?

Mr. ROGERS. Outings like picnics, bazaars, and what-not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Louise Zito?

Mr. ROGERS. I probably have seen her. I couldn't say under oath that I do know her. I have seen her. Where and when, that I don't know. But I know I have seen her some place.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend any meetings which were attended by Miss Paumi and Louise Zito? Can you remember them at the present time?

Mr. ROGERS. The meetings I attended: there was a lot of people there. I don't remember any two particular persons. Probably chances are that the meetings I was at, they was there, the two were there at the same time.

In my knowledge, they wasn't, under my knowledge, as being Communist meetings.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your wife's name?

Mr. ROGERS. Addie Rogers.

Mr. TAVENNER. Addie.

Do you recall the holding of a Communist Party meeting in your home?

Mr. ROGERS. Communist Party meeting in my home?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. ROGERS. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Composed of women?

Mr. ROGERS. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Any questions, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I have no questions.

Mr. WILLIS. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, the next witness, I believe, will take considerable time. I don't know whether you want to start in before lunch or not.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a. m., the committee was recessed, to be reconvened at 1:30 p. m., this same day. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1957

(The subcommittee was reconvened at 1:30 o'clock p. m. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel will call his next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Elsie Willcox.

Will you come forward, please.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I do.

Could I request that there be no picture taking during my testimony.

TESTIMONY OF MRS. ELSIE WILLCOX, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,  
JOHN R. CUNEO

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Elsie Willcox.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are accompanied by counsel. Will counsel please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CUNEO. John R. Cuneo, 91 Washington Street, South Norwalk, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you live, Mrs. Willcox?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I live at 36 Dock Road, South Norwalk, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you lived there all your life?

Mrs. WILLCOX. No. I moved there. We built our own home there in 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1950?

Mrs. WILLCOX. The latter part of 1950.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I was born in Gary, Ind.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you move to Connecticut?

Mrs. WILLCOX. At the time we built our home is when I came.

Mr. TAVENNER. In 1950?

Mrs. WILLCOX. In 1950, yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were not a resident of Connecticut prior to that time?

Mrs. WILLCOX. No, I was not.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your maiden name?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Elsie Van Bueren, B-u-e-r-e-n.

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe you are the executive secretary of the Connecticut Peace Crusade, are you not?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question, respectfully, sir, on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Do you feel by answering that question that your answer may give information that will tend to incriminate yourself in a criminal action?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I do, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Actually the Connecticut committee of the Peace Crusade was reorganized, was it not, some years ago, and it is now known as the Connecticut Peace Council? Isn't that true?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I don't know what you mean by the Connecticut Peace Crusade. I am not familiar with that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I was in a little doubt about that myself, and that is the reason I wanted to get these two organizations clearly defined.

You have never been connected then with an organization known as the Peace Crusade, Connecticut Peace Crusade?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not familiar with that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you are——

Mrs. WILLCOX. The name of that organization.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you are familiar with the organization known as the Connecticut Peace Council?



(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am aware of the fact, sir, that such an organization existed.

Mr. TAVENNER. You helped organize it, didn't you?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee, from time to time, has made investigations of various peace crusade movements. In each instance, the testimony has developed that they were affiliated with the American Peace Crusade.

The committee wanted at this time to interrogate a person who has, or probably still is holding, an official position in the Connecticut Peace Council to determine various facts relating to it. Now you are in a position to give the committee that information if it is true that you are now, or have recently been, its executive secretary. So I want to call on you to give the committee such facts as you have regarding it. For instance, how many chapters are there in the State of Connecticut of the Connecticut Peace Council?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Sir, I would like to state here that I am perfectly happy to cooperate with this committee on legislative functions as long as it doesn't violate my rights or in any way put me in jeopardy.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then all you have to do is answer the questions.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I believe I have already answered the question, that I decline to answer any questions relevant to that organization on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that because there is something inherently wrong with that organization which you believe might subject you to criminal prosecution in the event you admitted your official connection with it?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I have already declined to answer any questions about that organization on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. But the committee is entitled to know whether you are basing your claim of immunity on a sound basis or whether you are just raising that objection as a whimsical objection to the answer.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I believe that question was asked before by Mr. Kearney, and I answered the question.

Mr. WILLIS. How did you answer it?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Well, phrase the question again that Mr. Kearney asked me. I believe I answered it. I answered that I refused to answer questions about this organization on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. I think you know, and certainly your counsel does know, that in order to invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment, a person must honestly fear or apprehend that to testify or answer the question may lead to self-incrimination or to supplying information that might be used against that person in a criminal proceeding. And only a person so fearful, honestly fearful, is entitled to invoke the privileges of the fifth amendment.

You have a right to invoke it. But we have a perfect right to test your sincerity and your honesty in its invocation. It cannot be in-

voked facetiously or whimsically or capriciously. If that were so, then all proceedings could be stifled and the only thing a witness would have to say is "I just don't want to answer."

Those questions are perfectly proper, not as to your right to invoke the fifth amendment, but to test whether you are lawfully invoking it. So the question is, I repeat:

Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Mr. Chairman, a witness has testified about this organization. I think I am using my grounds in good faith when I refuse to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth. And I might add that the Supreme Court has said about the fifth amendment, that it protects a person's conscience and their dignity, as well as their safety.

Mr. WILLIS. What case is that?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I believe it was the Ullmann case.

Mr. TAVENNER. The Ullmann case involved the constitutionality of the Immunity Act and went to the Supreme Court, and the act was declared to be constitutional. And the defense that was raised in that case, that you could not compel the witness to answer, was not considered a valid defense.

Will you tell us how many chapters—

Mr. WILLIS. You started to answer the question, and you were on the right track in my opinion, just testing your honesty. You said you did not want to testify, to answer the question, because you said a witness testified about that organization.

What do you mean by that?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I will stand on my previous answers, sir. I have answered the question, that I refuse to answer the questions about this organization on the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you mean that a witness testified under oath, under the pains and penalties of perjury if not telling the truth, that that organization was something less than American? Or the objectives of it or at least the sponsors of that organization? Is that what you had in mind?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I understand there was testimony about this organization. I read about it in the newspapers. I do not know the full details of that testimony, and I believe I am sincerely invoking both the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. WILLIS. I will say this to you, that our record is replete with testimony along the lines you have indicated. Would you care to challenge that and say the testimony is true or false?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, would you care to give us your opinion of that organization, the Peace Crusade [Connecticut Peace Council]?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am sorry. You are a lawyer. I am just a layman. I am trying to understand these questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. You are represented by counsel.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I know.

Mr. KEARNEY. He can advise you.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Would you repeat the question, please?

Mr. WILLIS. I said that there has been much testimony directed against the Peace Crusade, painting it as, to say the least, un-American.

I ask you now, do you know enough about it to say that that evidence is not true? Or would you care to talk about it at all? We would like to know all you know about it.

Mrs. WILLCOX. You are just asking me a question again about the Peace Council, and I have indicated previously that I am going to decline to answer that question for the reasons I have stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, now, did you say whether you were a member of it?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I said I am going to decline to answer that question about the organization as well as to give you information.

Mr. WILLIS. Why do you decline to answer?

Mrs. WILLCOX. On the grounds of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Would you be a member of any organization that has been cited, we will say, for instance, by the Attorney General of the United States as being disloyal to this country?

Mrs. WILLCOX. As being what?

Mr. KEARNEY. Disloyal to this country.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question, sir, on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. KEARNEY. Do I take it from your answer that you do not want to be known as a loyal American?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Sir, I believe that invoking the rights of the fifth amendment is not an act of a disloyal citizen.

Mr. KEARNEY. All right. Then let me ask you this question: If you had any information concerning any organization in this country which had for its objectives, or was aligned with any organization which had for its objectives, the overthrow of our Government, would you give that information to this committee?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am trying to understand what your question means.

Mr. KEARNEY. I stated it in simple language.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I think the answer would be "Yes."

Mr. KEARNEY. You think the answer would be "Yes"?

Mrs. WILLCOX. If I understand your question correctly, my answer would be "Yes."

Mr. KEARNEY. Give me your understanding of my question. If you are not correct, I will repeat it.

Mrs. WILLCOX. Maybe you could repeat the question for me, please.

Mr. KEARNEY. What is your understanding of my question?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I believe what you asked me was that if any organization was engaged in any criminal activity, that I would report it. I think my answer would be "Yes." I think chances are I would report it to the legal authorities, to the police rather than this committee.

Mr. KEARNEY. You would not report it to this committee?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I didn't say I wouldn't, sir. I don't know.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you wouldn't—you mean by your prejudice against this committee?

Mrs. WILLCOX. No; I didn't say that, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you had any information concerning any Communists in this country who were engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow our Government, would you report that to the proper officials, either the police or the FBI or any other organization even outside of this committee?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am afraid I am going to have to decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth.

Mr. KEARNEY. In other words, you are just a lot of talk.

Mr. WILLIS. All right, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Willcox, did you in 1953 attend the United Nations as a peace delegate?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer, sir, on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of an excerpt from the Daily Worker of March 6, 1953 (p. 8), entitled "Peace Delegates Bring Cease-Fire Plea to U. N.," and in the description of those who attended appears the name Mrs. Elsie Willcox, Connecticut Peace Council.

Will you examine it, please, and state whether or not you are the person referred to in that article of the Daily Worker.

(The witness examines document.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. "Peace Delegates Bring Cease-Fire Plea to U. N."?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. You will see a name underscored with red.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not responsible for what goes in the Daily Worker, and I have already declined to answer that question about whether I was on that delegation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was the Daily Worker right in this instance?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I have declined to answer the question when you put it to me previously.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you, on the date mentioned in 1953, a delegate from the Connecticut Peace Council to the United Nations?

Mrs. WILLCOX. It just seems to me you are asking me the same question again. And I give you the same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mentioned a few moments ago that there was some testimony relating to the Connecticut Peace Council; that you had not read it; you did not know exactly what it said. Let me read it to you. This is the testimony of Miss Paumi, taken before this committee on September 26, 1956, in this room. This question was asked her:

Have you information as to any fronts which were controlled by the Communist Party during your experience in Connecticut?

Miss PAUMI. Yes, sir. They were the Civil Rights Congress, the Connecticut Peace Council—

and then she goes on to describe other organizations—

and also the recent one was the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights and the Connecticut Peace Council.

Is that the testimony to which you referred?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I don't know, sir. I read just what I read in the newspaper, which referred to some testimony of hers. I assume that is it.



Mr. TAVENNER. Well, is there anything wrong about her testimony? Is there anything incorrect insofar as I read it to you?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us, please, whether or not Lois Barnes was the head of the chapter of the Connecticut Peace Council at Bridgeport, Conn.?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I will not be a witness against other people, and I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Lois Barnes?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I have answered that question. I decline to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell us whether or not Miss Verne Weed was the head of the chapter of the Connecticut Peace Council at Hartford?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I will not be a witness against other people. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, in the light of the way the witness put the answer, I ask that she be directed to answer the question.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. I order and direct you to answer that question.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment, sir.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Verne Weed?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer, sir.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee whether Marge Schire was the head of the chapter at New Haven?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Marge Schire?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was a person by the name of Duter, D-u-t-e-r, Hall the head of the chapter at Westport, Conn.?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Duter Hall?

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Between October 2 and October 8, 1952, there was a very important meeting known as the Asiatic-Pacific Conference of the World Peace Council at Peiping, China. The investigation of the committee has disclosed that consideration was being given to the sending of a delegate, or the sponsoring of a delegate, to that conference. Do you know anything about it?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Are you talking about October, sir, of 1952?

Mr. TAVENNER. October 2 to 8, 1952.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. When was this preparation supposed to be taking place, sir? In sending a delegate? Was it October 2 to 8, the time of the conference?



Mr. TAVENNER. That was the time of the conference, yes.

Mrs. WILLCOX. The preparation was sometime before that. Is that what you are talking about?

Mr. TAVENNER. If you are going to send a delegate in time to get there it would have to have been before the 2d.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The reason I am having problems with that is I really don't recall. I was in Vancouver, British Columbia, during the entire summer of 1952. And I just don't recall preparation for that conference.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell us when you went to Vancouver in 1952 and when you returned.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I believe it was sometime in the middle of May.

Mr. TAVENNER. That you went to Vancouver?

Mrs. WILLCOX. That I went to Vancouver. And I returned the middle or end of September. I don't recall exactly what the dates were.

Mr. TAVENNER. Sometime during the month of September. Very well. Do you have any knowledge of the discussion regarding the sending of a delegate to that conference, or the sponsoring of one to that conference?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I think I will decline to answer, sir, on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. WILLIS. What conference was it?

Mr. TAVENNER. It was the Asian-Pacific Conference of the World Peace Council at Peiping, China.

Mr. WILLIS. What was the question you asked her?

Mr. TAVENNER. Whether she had any knowledge of a discussion, which the committee has found from its investigation occurred, with regard to the sending of a delegate to that conference, or the sponsoring of a delegate to that conference.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. When were you married?

Mrs. WILLCOX. October 19, 1947.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with a person by the name of Hugh Hardyman?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know that Hugh Hardyman was one of the delegates to that convention?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. An investigation conducted by this committee on the west coast disclosed the fact that Mr. Hugh Hardyman was sponsored as a delegate to that convention by the Southern California Peace Crusade.

Mr. Hardyman worked behind the Iron Curtain, so to speak, at Peiping. During the very time that our prisoners of war in Korea were being compelled to broadcast to the Armed Forces of this country that our own troops were using bacteria warfare, Hugh Hardyman, as a member of this peace conference, made speeches broadcast to the entire Iron Curtain countries charging our own country with the use of bacteria warfare, which he repeated from the International News

Service in Budapest on his return, and which he repeated again in public speeches in this country.

Now it is our information that your father-in-law and mother-in-law, Mr. Henry Willcox and his wife, Mrs. Anita Willcox, were also delegates to that convention in Peiping.

That is true, is it not, that they were delegates?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. You are asking me to testify on my family, sir?

Mr. TAVENNER. I am asking you a question as to whether or not they were delegates to that convention, regardless of who they are.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. There is no immunity given them. They are not any better than Hugh Hardyman.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I don't know. I don't know whether they were delegates.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know they went there.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I think that is a matter of public knowledge.

Mr. TAVENNER. You know they went there, do you not?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Yes. I didn't know at the time.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you first find out?

Mrs. WILLCOX. When I returned home from Vancouver.

Mr. TAVENNER. You found that they were gone when you returned in September?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I knew they were on a trip. I didn't know where they were going.

Mr. TAVENNER. How is that?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I knew they were on a trip to Europe. I didn't know where they were going until I returned home.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the purpose of their trip to Europe?

Mrs. WILLCOX. You will have to ask them these questions, it seems to me. I don't see why I should be required to answer questions about my family.

Mr. KEARNEY. For the benefit of the witness who is now testifying, I can say this, that if she is in any doubt, we can furnish her with a transcript of the testimony of Mr. Willcox before this committee. And if there was ever an individual, in my humble opinion, who should have been indicted as a traitor to this country, he is one of them.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not responding.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. What was his purpose in—

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what his purpose was in going to Europe?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I really don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything about his application for a passport to Europe?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I didn't know anything about that, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever discuss with him before you left in May to go to Vancouver his proposed trip to Europe?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Not as far as I can recall, sir.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you hear anything in your family about the necessity of Mr. Henry Willcox going to any certain place in Europe?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I have answered that question, sir. I don't recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know anything about the circumstances—and when I say “do you know,” I mean has Mr. Willcox told you—or do you know by any other method how it was that Mr. Willcox applied to the State Department for a passport to Turkey and, instead of going to Turkey, went to Peiping, China?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Sir, you are asking me about a period of time when I wasn't home. I didn't have conversations with my father-in-law.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not have conversations with him as to why he went or where he went?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Not as far as I can recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Actually when he and Mrs. Anita Willcox returned, didn't you make arrangements in and about the area in which you live for them to have conferences, to make lectures, to appear at public places and make speeches regarding their trip?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Now you are asking me another question. You were asking me about prior arrangements. Now you are asking me about post arrangements afterwards. That is another question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read her the question?

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. You are asking me about after they returned?

Mr. TAVENNER. You certainly can understand that question.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question, sir, on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. After the return of Mr. Henry Willcox and Mrs. Anita Willcox, did they spend a period of time in this community or in your community?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Can't you understand that?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not a lawyer, sir. I have to discuss this.

Mr. TAVENNER. I should think anybody could understand that. Did they spend any time at your home or in your vicinity after they came back from Peiping?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am going to decline to answer that question.

Mr. KEARNEY. Then you did understand the question.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I had to have it explained to me, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that if the witness wouldn't take the question of counsel in such a facetious manner, she might understand these very simple questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you discuss with Mr. Henry Willcox or Mrs. Anita Willcox or both of them the circumstances under which they had made this trip to China after they returned?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer.

Mr. WILLIS. What is that?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then actually you know all those circumstances, but you are refusing to tell this committee because, if you are honestly

relying on the fifth amendment, you are afraid that it might tend to incriminate you?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. You said a minute ago you took the first and the fifth. What do you mean by that? First and fifth what?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Sir, under the first amendment, the first amendment is designed to protect my rights and, I think, the rights of other people to freely believe and associate. Under the fifth—

Mr. KEARNEY. You left the answer wide open. You just said "I take the first and fifth." Now, as far as the record is concerned, that is not any answer. You take the first and fifth what?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, sir.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has ascertained information during the course of this investigation that, in the summer of 1953, you told various persons in attendance at a meeting of the Peace Council that the House Un-American Activities Committee was coming to Connecticut, and that they were not to give any information to the person subpoenaing them if they were subpoenaed, but to say that they wanted to see their lawyer.

Did you make any such statement as that?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer, sir, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you advise any persons affiliated with the Connecticut Peace Council that, in event they were subpoenaed by this committee, they should report that fact to Sam Richter?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer for all the reasons I have previously stated, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you also advise them that they should go to see the Council's attorney, Sam Gruber?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You, according to our information, are in a position where you could give this committee very detailed information regarding the activities of this organization called the Connecticut Peace Council; and I hope you will tell the committee whether or not it is a fact that among the projects that your group had was the circulation of petitions to obtain the signatures of people either in favor or in opposition to many different things. And among those things, I ask you about the following: Whether or not your organization was responsible for circulating a petition against universal military training.

Mrs. WILLCOX. Are you asking me?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I have already stated that on all questions relevant to the Connecticut Peace Council, I am going to decline to answer for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I cannot understand the answer to that question for this reason, that there are many, many organizations



in this country who are opposed to universal military training. Why the answer to any question like that would tend to incriminate you, I cannot understand. We had Members of the Congress who were opposed to universal military training. Why should you decline to answer for fear it might incriminate you, as far as your own organization is concerned, when you know in your own mind that no such answer would tend to incriminate you?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Is that a question, sir?

Mr. KEARNEY. Pardon?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Is that a question? Are you asking me a question?

Mr. KEARNEY. It is a statement of fact for you. You can take it as a question if you want. But why do you decline to answer?

Mrs. WILLCOX. As I understand it, counsel didn't ask me what my opinions were on universal military training. He asked me specifically the question about an organization which I previously declined to discuss.

Mr. KEARNEY. An organization which you declined to identify.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I have answered that question, yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes, I know you did.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, did you personally, as an individual, take any part in the circulation of such a petition?

Mrs. WILLCOX. You are speaking of a petition initiated by this organization?

Mr. TAVENNER. I don't know by whom it was initiated. Say a petition which opposed universal military training.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Do you have the petition?

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you answer the question, please?

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you personally take part in the circulation of a petition advocating the removal of the Seventh Fleet from Formosa?

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you personally, or did you personally take part in the circulation of a petition advocating that this country get rid of the H-bomb?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did I pronounce it incorrectly or something? I noticed you are smiling about it. Is there anything ridiculous about that?

Mrs. WILLCOX. No, I am not smiling because—it is my way.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in the circulation of a petition opposing the rearming of Western Germany?

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you circulate a petition against the so-called persecution of the Smith Act defendants?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Young lady, let me suggest to you these questions are not picked out of the air. Certain petitions were distributed. You realize that, don't you?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am sorry. I didn't hear what you said.



Mr. WILLIS. I said you have been smiling at some of these questions.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not smiling at the questions, sir. It is a nervous habit of mine. I am very sorry.

Mr. WILLIS. I assure you that it is not the habit of our counsel or this committee just to pick wild questions out of the air to embarrass anybody, if that person could be embarrassed. We ask questions about things that happened; and we want to know who initiated them, whether you had a part in them. And if you didn't, just say so. That is how simple it is.

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes. And may I add, Mr. Chairman, to go back to my former statement to the young lady, that on these questions that have been asked by counsel in the last 2 or 3 minutes, thousands of good Americans have joined in these petitions. Now, you as an individual decline to answer for fear it might incriminate you. Incriminate you of what?

Mrs. WILLCOX. As I understand it, counsel is speaking of a specific petition; not a general viewpoint.

Mr. KEARNEY. He is asking you if you had any part, as I understand the question, in promoting these various petitions.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Is that right, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Why do you hesitate to answer that?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. Let me ask you one then. Did you have charge of a busload of people that went from here to Washington to picket the Capitol and protest the execution of the Rosenbergs?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds of the fifth amendment and the first amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. I think the record should explain what General Kearney had in mind when he said that thousands of people signed such petitions.

The reason for that is because they are wrapped up with such beautiful words as "peace crusade." And what the people should know is that those who are responsible for those petitions we are talking about are hard-core members of the Communist Party. You have a lot of do-gooders, a lot of honest people who lend themselves to these movements, which, as I say, are described with such words as "the movement to do justice in the case of the Rosenbergs," "the peace crusade," and all such things. They never forget to wrap the American flag around a very ugly piece of business.

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you have any part in raising funds for the defense of the Rosenbergs?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question, sir, for the previous reasons stated.

Mr. KEARNEY. I recollect some time ago in answer to one of my questions you said, if you had any information concerning the welfare of this country, you would give it to us. Now when we ask you questions about the Rosenbergs, who were convicted traitors and were executed, you again hide behind the fifth amendment.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Did you have anything to do with any group going to Washington to picket the White House?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I have already answered that question, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Answer it again so that I will get it.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first and fifth, which protects the innocent.

Mr. TAVENNER. You also refuse to answer as to whether you had any part in raising funds for the defense of the Rosenbergs?

Mrs. WILLCOX. That is true. I answered that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me make this observation in this open hearing: If you had any part in this movement, you should be proud of yourself because, out of the thousands and thousands of dollars that were collected, the children of the Rosenbergs got a little over a thousand dollars.

Mr. WILLIS. It ran into the hundreds of thousands. The Rosenberg children got twelve hundred, and they were used as fronts to pick up the money for the Communist machinations.

Mr. KEARNEY. If you had any connection with any such movement, you certainly should pat yourself on the back.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mrs. Willcox, did you take part in any way in the preparation or circulation of a petition advocating trade with the Soviet Union?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that, sir, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. KEARNEY. Why do you decline to answer that on the first and fifth amendments? Thousands and thousands of people in this country have advocated such a position.

Mrs. WILLCOX. Counsel is speaking of a specific petition, I believe.

Mr. KEARNEY. Ask another one, Mr. Counsel. See if we can get a truthful answer here.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me ask you another question first, if you will, please.

Did you take part in any way in the preparation or circulation of a petition to admit Red China into membership in the United Nations?

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you in favor of admitting Red China to the United Nations?

Mrs. WILLCOX. As a personal opinion?

Mr. KEARNEY. Yes.

Mrs. WILLCOX. Yes, sir. I think all nations should be admitted to the United Nations.

Mr. KEARNEY. All nations?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Yes, sir. All nations.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you appeared at any time on a mission to the United Nations?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not the leadership of the Communist Party of the State of Connecticut played a part in the dissemination of petitions, the petitions which I have mentioned, by the Connecticut Peace Council?

Mrs. WILLCOX. The same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Mr. Sam Richter work closely in the activities of the Connecticut Peace Council?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Same answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are acquainted with Mr. Richter, are you not?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Lois Barnes work closely with you in connection with peace matters generally? I am not speaking of any particular peace organization, if that is the thing that offends you.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I believe you have asked me that question before.

Mr. TAVENNER. No. No, I haven't.

Mrs. WILLCOX. In any case, I am not going to be a witness against others, and in this connection I—I give you the same ground.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then I ask that you direct the witness to answer. It is not a valid excuse that somebody may be involved.

Mr. WILLIS. It is not a valid excuse, as has been said by the Supreme Court. You are ordered and directed to answer.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first and fifth amendments, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. You knew that Lois Barnes was a member of the City Committee of the Communist Party at Bridgeport?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I'm sorry. Would you repeat that question?

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with the fact, or do you know, that Lois Barnes was a member of the City Committee of the Communist Party for Bridgeport?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not a Communist.

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you now a Communist?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not a Communist.

Mr. KEARNEY. Were you a Communist yesterday?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. In the work of the various organizations with which you were identified, did you at any time submit problems with which you were confronted to the Communist Party for its recommendation and decision?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I decline to answer that question, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What has been the nature of your employment or your occupation since 1953? Beginning with 1953. Other than being a housewife?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am the mother of two children. My first child came in 1953.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Counsel, may I interrupt?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. I want to follow up my two questions with this one:

You testified that you are not a Communist today. When I asked you if you were one yesterday, you declined to answer. When you leave this room, will you become a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. When you leave this room today or tomorrow, will you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Of course not.

Mr. KEARNEY. Will you become a member of the Communist Party next week?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Would you repeat the question, please?

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. I don't intend to.

Mr. KEARNEY. Pardon?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I don't intend to; no.

Mr. KEARNEY. You say you are not a member of the Communist Party today, and you decline to answer as to whether you were yesterday. Would you mind telling the committee why you got out of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am going to decline to answer that question, sir.

Mr. KEARNEY. That is all.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am interested to know why you would not join tomorrow if you say you are not a member today. You say you will not. Why not?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. No answer on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. No answer?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I don't have any answer, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. No reason at all?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you haven't changed your views in any respect, any material respect, about Communist Party activities and the part that the Communist Party is playing in world domination?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I really don't see why I have to answer your questions, sir, about what my politics are or why I should choose not to be a member or choose to be.

Mr. TAVENNER. I haven't asked you any political question. You said you would not join—

Mr. WILLIS. I think what Mr. Tavenner had hoped you would say is that you don't expect to join the Communist Party, and not only will you not do that but the reason for it is that you abhor the Communist conspiracy. That is what we had hoped you would say, or he was giving you a chance to say.

Mr. TAVENNER. But she said she had no reason.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. She didn't say it.

Mr. WILLIS. We certainly can hope.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I think you started to say a while ago, at the very beginning of your testimony, something about your willingness to supply us with information for legislative purposes.

Mrs. WILLCOX. Are you asking me a question, sir?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I said as long as you don't violate my rights as an American citizen or place me in jeopardy, I would be very happy to cooperate with a legislative purpose.

Mr. WILLIS. All right. Let's see now. You have invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment in many instances, the reason being—because that is the only lawful reason for it—that to speak would give



testimony against yourself or tend to incriminate yourself or to supply information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding.

Now this committee was responsible for the passage of an act of Congress just 2 or 3 years ago to meet that very proposition. That is, we have a right—without going into the details of it—to initiate proceedings and to obtain an order from a Federal judge to grant you immunity from prosecution or from self-incrimination. In other words, to remove the fear which is the only thing upon which you can honestly not talk. You said you would be willing to cooperate with us in all areas where your constitutional rights would not be impaired. If we granted you that immunity, would you then give us the information which we are convinced you have which would be of value to this committee and to the Government?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. And, by the way, if you agree to it, we would not press it right now. We could call an executive session, or we could examine you later. Would you be willing to freely answer all questions, pertinent questions, if we grant you that immunity?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Sir, I answered my previous questions on two grounds: On the grounds of the first, as well as the fifth. And I consider my constitutional rights include the first amendment, the right to free belief and association without interference of government. And I would have to consult with my attorney before I could come to a conclusion on this other aspect of the question. You are talking about something that might happen.

Mr. WILLIS. No; that is a very practical thing.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. And that is a weapon we have devised in order to protect honest witnesses who perhaps have been involved in the past.

As you said right now, you are not presently a member of the Communist Party, but you won't talk about the past. Where else can we develop the pattern that fits the total picture, the mosaic of the Communist conspiracy unless we can have people who, like yourself, as we believe, can supply information? This is very practical.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, may I make a suggestion?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. In view of the importance of this matter, and particularly in light of the witness saying that she wanted to confer with her counsel, may she step down from the witness chair and have time to confer with counsel and come back here a little later in the afternoon, say in the next 15 or 20 minutes or half hour if she needs that much time, she and counsel, and we will see definitely?

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I concur with counsel, and I recommend it.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. We are not seeking to force you to do this. Do you want that time? We could call a recess and then call another witness.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Let me make it plain to you—

Mrs. WILLCOX. Are you asking me a question about—

Mr. WILLIS. No; because you indicated that you might want to consult with counsel.



Mrs. WILLCOX. I think I need a little bit more time than just 15 or 20 minutes because evidently there are a number of legal questions involved in this.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me say this to you, that this committee will not take steps to grant immunity to a witness unless, as I said, the witness will freely and truthfully answer all questions propounded which, according to our counsel, are pertinent to the jurisdiction of this committee, developing facts within the knowledge of the witness. You understand that. We could not have an area of 6 months, 2 months, or 3 months of time over which to develop the facts.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. You placed a question to me, sir?

I think if your questioning were along lines of legislation, what I consider valid legislation, and were not in the area of questioning me about my family or my friends, I certainly would cooperate. But I will not cooperate in discussing my family or those things which I consider protected by the first amendment, namely, protecting other people, as well as myself, to freely engage in political activities, whether they are popular or not.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words——

Mrs. WILLCOX. That is the first amendment right.

Mr. WILLIS. You are not restricting your objection to family only. It would be your friends and acquaintances and anybody you know, or who possibly you would know, something about. You would not reveal information along that line at all.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I said, sir, previously that if I were aware of anyone engaged in criminal activity, I would report it to the proper authorities.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean somebody committing murder, somebody running over someone, somebody robbing someone. Is that what you are talking about? We have nothing to do with that. Don't talk about criminal law. You know what we are talking about. We are talking about the Communist conspiracy.

As I say, you are not forced to do it. You brought it about by the nature of your first answer.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. If you are going to except from your discussions people, all people, family, friends, we will have nothing left to talk about, I am afraid.

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am sorry. I think I have answered your question, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And I say that to you because I don't want to mislead you. If you agree to immunity, you would have honestly to disclose all answers, you would have honestly to answer all questions put to you that we think are pertinent.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mrs. WILLCOX. Then I couldn't accept immunity because I do not feel I could answer all questions.

Mr. KEARNEY. Could I ask another question. You said a few minutes ago that you didn't want to be examined on your political beliefs, your family's thoughts.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. KEARNEY. Are you so naive as to think that the Communist Party is a political party?

Mrs. WILLCOX. Is it my belief that it is a political party?

Mr. KEARNEY. Then you haven't—

Mr. WILLIS. Wait a minute. She didn't answer.

Mr. KEARNEY. She did. She said it was her belief that it is a political party.

Mrs. WILLCOX. It is my understanding that it is.

Mr. KEARNEY. It is your understanding. Then you haven't read the writings of Mr. Foster, the head of the Communist Party, or any of the 12 Communists who were convicted in the State of New York several years ago, or other leading members of the Communist Party in this country, because it was definitely shown by their own words that this is a revolutionary party, and it takes its orders from Moscow. It is not a political party.

And you are an intelligent young lady. You are not so naive as to believe that. Is that what you want to try to convince this committee of?

Mrs. WILLCOX. I am not trying to convince the committee of anything.

Mr. KEARNEY. I thoroughly agree with you there.

Mr. WILLIS. You mentioned something about legislative purpose. And I don't want to detain you, but I think this should be put in the record.

Every year we render an annual report to the Congress, reviewing the work of the previous calendar year and making legislative recommendations. On January 2 of this year, we made our report to Congress; and, based upon hearings in 1956 and before, I see here we made some 8 or 10 pages of legislative recommendations. And you should know that the hearings we are conducting now, and every hearing we conduct, have to do with bringing up to date the various laws on the books to combat the Communist conspiracy and the plugging up of loopholes. For instance, this committee was responsible for the Smith Act, or sponsored it or inspired it. I don't know whether you agree with the Smith Act, but it is the law of the land.

We are responsible for the Foreign Agents Registration Act, which requires agents of foreign governments in the United States to register. We are responsible for the Communist Control Act which was enacted not many years ago. And so on down the line. So the hearings we are conducting today—that is, all our hearings—are conducted with these legislative purposes and recommendations that we make to Congress every year.

Is there anything further?

Mr. KEARNEY. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. That is all.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I move we take a 10-minute recess.

Mr. WILLIS. We will stand in recess informally for about 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

(The committee was reconvened at the expiration of the recess. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel, will you call your next witness, please?

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Collins.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COLLINS. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF RAYMOND T. COLLINS

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. COLLINS. Raymond T. Collins.

Mr. TAVENNER. How are you employed, Mr. Collins?

Mr. COLLINS. Investigator, House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. COLLINS. Approximately 2½ years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that time, what was your employment?

Mr. COLLINS. I was a special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you been a representative from the staff of the Committee on Un-American Activities working in connection with these hearings?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. TAVENNER. I requested you to make an investigation regarding a certain post-office box number.

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make that investigation?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the number of the box?

Mr. COLLINS. Post Office Box No. 347.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Mr. COLLINS. New Haven, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. New Haven.

From the investigation that you made, did you find the name of the organization to which that post-office box had been issued?

Mr. COLLINS. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was the name of that organization?

Mr. COLLINS. The Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you procure a copy of the application card for that box?

Mr. COLLINS. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have it photostated?

Mr. COLLINS. I did, sir.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have that photostat in your possession?

Mr. COLLINS. I do.

Mr. TAVENNER. I desire to offer it in evidence, Mr. Chairman, and ask that it be marked "Collins Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be so marked and incorporated in the record.

(The document referred to marked "Collins Exhibit No. 1," follows:)

COLLINS EXHIBIT No. 1

Form 1024  
(Rev. 7-33)

# APPLICATION FOR POST-OFFICE BOX

Assigned  
Box No.

347

(Date closed)

(Date opened)

Oct 1, 1954

The undersigned hereby applies for the use of a box in the post office at New Haven, Conn. and agrees to comply with the postal regulations and rules relative to the renting and use of post-office boxes.

If the box is rented for a corporation, the applicant should write on the lines below the name of the corporation; if for a firm, the name of the firm and the full name of each of its members whose mail is to be placed in the box.

CONTRACTOR VANDERBILT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

(Dr.) Edgar MacLean, Chairman

Edgar MacLean, Secretary

Signature of applicant Edgar MacLean

Character of business Civil Rights

Business address 23 Temple St. Rm. 211

Residence address 757 Thompson Ave. Bridgeport

Telephone:

Flanigan 3-2333 (Withrop Ave.)

Flanigan 3-2333 (Withrop Ave.)

Frank A. Lathrop, P. M. Agent

by J. H. Collins and Postmaster.

Post Office of New Haven, Conn.

10-5700-2



Mr. TAVENNER. Will you read it, please?

Mr. COLLINS (reading) :

APPLICATION FOR POST-OFFICE BOX

Assigned box No. 347.

Date opened : October 1, 1954.

The undersigned hereby applies for the use of a box in the post office at New Haven, Conn., and agrees to comply with the postal regulations and rules relative to the renting and use of post-office boxes.

If the box is rented for a corporation, the applicant should write on the lines below the name of the corporation; if for a firm, the name of the firm and the full name of each of its members whose mail is to be placed in the box.

CONNECTICUT VOLUNTEERS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS.

BERT MACLEECH, *Chairman*.

Mrs. PAULA MACLEECH, *Secretary*.

The signature of the applicant appears hereon: Bert-MacLeech.

Character of business : Civil rights.

Business address : 23 Temple Street, room 211.

Residence address : 757 Iranistan Avenue, Bridgeport.

References: Dr. Willard Uphaus, Edgewood Avenue; Nancy Marder, 323 Winthrop Avenue, New Haven, Conn.

FRANK A. LATTANZI, *P. M., Actg.*

By F. A. COLEMAN, *Asst. Supt. of Mails*.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all.

Mr. Samuel Richter, please, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. RICHTER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL RICHTER

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. RICHTER. Samuel Richter.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I should at this time state, to refresh your recollection, that this witness appeared before the committee in September 1956 in this room; that he was identified as a member of the Communist Party and holding various functionary positions in the Communist Party by several witnesses; that when he took the stand, questions were asked him regarding his positions in the Communist Party and his membership; and that he refused to answer all material questions relating to those subjects, relying on the fifth amendment as the grounds for his refusal.

It is not my purpose to review any of that testimony with the witness or to go back over any questions that were asked him. But, since he was on the witness stand, the investigation, which has continued, has developed a matter which I feel the witness should be asked about.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed along that line.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Richter, in the course of this investigation, the committee has run across an organization which seems to have been active, very active, during the period of the trial of the Smith Act cases here; and the indication has been that you should have some knowledge regarding the activities of that group. The group is the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights. Our investigation discloses that this organization was formed in September 1954 at three places



in the State, simultaneously: in New Haven, in Bridgeport, and at Hartford.

Is our information correct about that?

Mr. RICHTER. I will invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. And refuse to answer?

Mr. RICHTER. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. For what reason?

Mr. KEARNEY. I suggest that you answer the questions in the usual manner. You remember we had a little rumpus here with you last year, and it can be still carried on.

Mr. RICHTER. The rumpus?

Mr. KEARNEY. Whatever you call it.

Mr. RICHTER. Mr. Kearney, I don't know why you are calling me here again, although what Mr. Tavenner says seems to indicate you think I have some connection with a certain organization he has mentioned.

I don't see why you harass me in this way, Mr. Kearney. I thought when we parted last time that it was mutually acceptable. That is, the parting. I was never expected to be here again. But, as long as I am here, I will answer the questions in my own way, Mr. Kearney. You realize that.

Mr. KEARNEY. No, you won't answer them in your own way.

Mr. RICHTER. As long as I keep within my legal limits of my answer, I will answer them in the way I wish to express them, not in the manner which you would like to have me express them. This is my right. I think you will concede it. If you wish me to state more completely what my grounds are in refusing to answer, I will do so.

Mr. KEARNEY. Go ahead.

Mr. RICHTER. If you wish me——

Mr. KEARNEY. Go ahead.

Mr. RICHTER. I refuse to answer on—I invoke the fifth amendment on the grounds that it might incriminate me, and also to point out to this committee——

Mr. KEARNEY. Thank you very much.

Mr. RICHTER. The fifth amendment is a protection for the innocent.

Mr. KEARNEY. We will take your answer without making a speech.

Mr. RICHTER. You asked me a question. If you are going to ask for a complete answer, I insist on being permitted to give it without your interrupting me.

Mr. KEARNEY. You are not going to be allowed to make a speech.

Mr. RICHTER. You want a complete answer, Mr. Kearney?

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you present at the organizational meeting of this committee in Bridgeport?

Mr. RICHTER. Do you want a complete answer, Mr. Kearney, or is it sufficient for me to say the same answer?

Mr. KEARNEY. Answer counsel's question.

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have a discussion prior to the formation of that organization with Miss Paumi, in which you outlined the plans of operation of this committee-to-be which you proposed to organize, and that those plans included two things: (1) Solicitation of funds for the purpose of defending the Smith Act defendants on trial; and (2) to disseminate information among the people generally

in order to depreciate what you called the "congressional witch hunts"?

Now will you tell the committee, please, whether that occurred, and, if so, I want to ask you other questions about it.

Mr. RICHTER. I will invoke the fifth amendment on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me and to point out to this committee that the fifth amendment was put into the Constitution as a shield for the innocent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you claim to be innocent in that regard, as far as this organization is concerned?

Mr. RICHTER. The fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. By invoking the fifth amendment, do you honestly feel that to answer that question might tend to subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. RICHTER. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted here from the application card for Post Office Box, Collins Exhibit No. 1, that a person by the name of Bert MacLeech was the chairman of the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights on October 1, 1954.

Are you acquainted with Mr. MacLeech?

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with Mr. MacLeech regarding the procedure that was to be followed and to effectively carry out the purposes of that organization?

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the head of the chapter of this organization in Hartford?

Mr. RICHTER. I will invoke the fifth amendment on the grounds that the answer may tend to incriminate me and to point out to the committee that the fifth amendment is a shield for the innocent.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was it also a purpose of this organization during the trial of the Smith Act cases to attempt to influence public opinion in favor of Communist contentions and issues in that case?

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you three documents. The first one is entitled "This Man is a Spy," any typewritten at the bottom there is "Issued by the Connecticut Volunteers, P. O. Box 347, New Haven, Conn.," which I will ask to be marked for identification as "Richter Exhibit No. 1."

(The document referred to was marked "Richter Exhibit No. 1," and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. TAVENNER. And a second document entitled "Pieces of Silver!" and above it is written "Seven Thousand," and at the end appears the statement "Issued by the Conn. Volunteers as a public service, P. O. Box 347, New Haven, Conn.," which I will ask to be marked for identification as "Richter Exhibit No. 2."

(The document referred to was marked "Richter Exhibit No. 2," and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. TAVENNER. And a third paper entitled "That Woman in Your Hair," typewritten at the bottom, "Issued by Conn. Volunteers for Civil Rights, P. O. Box 347, New Haven, Conn.," which I will ask to be marked as "Richter Exhibit No. 3."

(The document referred to was marked "Richter Exhibit No. 3," and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. WILLIS. Let the documents be so marked.

(Documents placed on the witness table.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you examined the documents I handed you?

(Witness examines documents.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do they look genuine?

Mr. RICHTER. Do they look genuine?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. RICHTER. Genuine of what, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. Of the original.

Mr. RICHTER. Well, I will have to invoke the fifth amendment on that, Mr. Tavenner.

Do you want me to read them out loud perhaps?

Mr. TAVENNER. No.

Mr. RICHTER. I didn't think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just keep them a moment. I am not through. Will you turn to the one marked "This Man is a Spy," and I believe that is exhibit No. 1.

Did you distribute copies of that leaflet at the gates of the General Electric Co. at Bridgeport, Conn., on January 12, 1956?

Mr. RICHTER. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who is Jake Goldring?

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Isn't he present in this courtroom?

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. He was one of the defendants in the Smith Act case, was he not?

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you turn to exhibit No. 2, entitled "Seven Thousand Pieces of Silver."

Do you know whether Jake Goldring and Frank Peterson distributed that particular circular at the gates of the General Electric plant at Bridgeport on January 18, 6 days later?

Mr. RICHTER. What year was that, Mr. Tavenner?

Mr. TAVENNER. How is that?

Mr. RICHTER. What year was that?

Mr. TAVENNER. 1956.

Mr. RICHTER. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am curious to know why you asked me about the date. Would the date make any difference in your answer?

Mr. RICHTER. I was just curious about the year, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do I have the date wrong?

Mr. RICHTER. I will have to invoke the fifth amendment, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. I will ask you now to turn to the third document entitled "That Woman in Your Hair," and I want to ask you what knowledge you have about the mailing of that document to various beauty parlors in Connecticut after Miss Paumi, a beautician, had testified in the Smith Act case?

Mr. RICHTER. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is true, is it not, that you were one of those who concocted the idea of setting up an organization designed to affect the due administration of justice in that Smith Act case?

Mr. RICHTER. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I believe that is all I want to ask the witness.

Mr. KEARNEY. I am sure I haven't any questions to ask the witness.

Mr. WILLIS. No questions.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, that is all this afternoon.

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess until tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 3:15 p. m., Tuesday, February 26, 1957, the committee was recessed, to be reconvened at 10 a. m., Wednesday, February 27, 1957. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW HAVEN, CONN., AREA—PART 3

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1957

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*New Haven, Conn.*

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, in the United States district courtroom, United States Courthouse and Post Office Building, New Haven, Conn., at 10 a. m., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, and Bernard W. Kearney, of New York.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; and Raymond T. Collins, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order, and counsel will call the first witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Louise Zito, will you come forward, please.

Mr. WILLIS. Raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Miss ZITO. I do.

Miss RORABACK. May we request that there be no television, please.

## TESTIMONY OF LOUISE ZITO, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, CATHERINE G. RORABACK

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you be seated.

Will you state your name, please.

Miss ZITO. Mrs. Louise Zito.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name?

Miss ZITO. Z-i-t-o.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you are accompanied by counsel. Will counsel please identify herself for the record?

Miss RORABACK. Catherine G. Roraback, 185 Church Street, New Haven, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you reside?

Miss ZITO. 835 Broad Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Miss ZITO. Bridgeport.

Mr. TAVENNER. What was your maiden name?

<sup>1</sup>Incorrectly spelled "Sito" in p. 2 of this series of hearings.



Miss ZITO. Zito.

Mr. TAVENNER. You are Miss Zito?

Miss ZITO. Yes; but I am divorced.

Mr. TAVENNER. I beg your pardon.

How long have you lived in Bridgeport?

Miss ZITO. Since 1917.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where did you live prior to that?

Miss ZITO. On Hallett Street.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where?

Miss ZITO. 818 Hallett Street, Bridgeport.

Mr. TAVENNER. In Bridgeport?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you born and raised in Bridgeport?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where were you born?

Miss ZITO. In Italy.

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you come to this country?

Miss ZITO. In 1907.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a naturalized American citizen?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you naturalized?

Miss ZITO. In Bridgeport.

Mr. TAVENNER. When?

Miss ZITO. 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Zito, I hand you Collins Exhibit No. 1, and ask you to look at a name appearing on this application. It is an application for a post office box to be issued to the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights. Will you examine it, please, and state whether you see there the name of Bert MacLeech?

(The witness examines document and confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you see it?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. MacLeech made application on that card for the issuance of the post office box, as I mentioned. Do you know Mr. MacLeech?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. Fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The fifth amendment?

My question was, Do you know Mr. MacLeech?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. I refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the grounds of the fifth amendment. Is that what you mean?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, I think I should refresh her recollection that Mr. Bert MacLeech was identified by Mr. Harold Kent in the testimony here in September of 1956 as a person known to him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Miss Zito, the information of the committee is that you were present at the time of the organization of this group known as the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights; that the meeting took place in Bridgeport in September of 1954.

Do you recall being present at the organizational meeting of that group?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. We can scarcely hear you.

Miss ZITO. I can't—I have a cold.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then will you move the microphone closer to you so we may pick up what you say.

What was your answer?

Miss ZITO. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The information of the committee is that this organization, known as the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights, was organized for two principal purposes: (1) was to raise funds for the defense of those being tried under the Smith Act and (2) to give the public certain information regarding what the Communists refer to as the "witchhunting activities" of the congressional committees.

Does that express accurately the purposes of that organization, if you know?

Miss ZITO. May I consult my lawyer?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. What is your answer?

Miss ZITO. I decline to answer, and take the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Bert MacLeech is shown on the application to have lived in New Haven. You lived in Bridgeport. Do you know whether or not this committee was organized simultaneously in New Haven and in Bridgeport and in Hartford?

Miss ZITO. I have no idea.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have no idea?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who the leaders of that group were in Hartford?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who the leaders of that group were in New Haven?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. The reporter can't get the shake of your head. You will have to answer.

Who were the leaders of that group in Bridgeport?

Miss ZITO. I wouldn't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. Assuming that you do not know, as you say, who were the leaders present at the time the organization was formed?

Miss ZITO. I wouldn't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You don't know. Weren't you present?

Miss ZITO. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not remember?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you attend a meeting in September 1954, at the apartment of Miss Paumi, at which Joe Barnes and Sam Richter were among those present?

Miss ZITO. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not know? You do not remember?

Mr. WILLIS. You will have to answer. The record must reflect your words.

What is your answer?

Miss ZITO. I don't know.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not know—by that you do not deny that you were there. You just do not remember. Is that correct?

Miss ZITO. I don't remember.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not remember?

Let me see if I can refresh your recollection.

Do you recall that at a meeting at her apartment the matter was discussed of circulating pamphlets and distributing leaflets for some purpose? Do you remember about that?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. I don't remember.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you remember ever being in her apartment?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. WILLIS. She so testified, didn't she?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir, that is not in the testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. It was not? Then it is evidence we have.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

You did help to distribute leaflets of that organization, did you not?

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. What is your answer?

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that, do you mean that to answer that question you feel it might tend to subject you to criminal prosecution?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. KEARNEY. Can you speak up? I can't hear a word she says.

Miss RORABACK. She said "Yes."

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you Richter exhibit No. 3, marked for identification. It is a leaflet entitled "That Woman in Your Hair." It shows that it was issued by the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights, Post Office Box 347. It was disseminated just a few days after Miss Paumi was on the witness stand in the Smith Act case.

I hand it to you and ask you to examine it and tell this committee, please, whether or not you disseminated that in the place where Miss Paumi had her place of business and in other places.

(The witness examines document and confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Chairman, it is rather apparent that the witness is not seeking advice of counsel. But counsel is, rather, imposing her advice upon the witness.

Miss RORABACK. Might I speak, Mr. Chairman?

I think that is a misstatement of just what occurred between counsel and client, and I don't think it was called for.

I certainly have to consult with my client freely or I can't give her the advice that she needs.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss RORABACK. Could the question be read again?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes.

Will you read the witness the question, please.

(The pending question was read by the reporter.)

Miss ZITO. I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pass out that leaflet at any place?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Not at any time?

Miss ZITO. I never saw this before.

Mr. TAVENNER. You never saw it before?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you pass out any other leaflet?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Different from that one?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You have never seen that leaflet before?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Or a copy of it?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you seen any other leaflet issued by the organization, the Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights?

Miss ZITO. I don't know what leaflet you are talking about.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the answer?

Miss RORABACK. She said "I don't know what leaflet you are talking about."

Miss ZITO. I don't know what leaflet he is talking about.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know that the organization, Connecticut Volunteers for Civil Rights, was engaged in passing out leaflets?

Miss ZITO. I never did any of that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you know they were doing it?

Miss ZITO. I don't know. No; I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you have any part in it in any way?

Miss ZITO. No. No; I didn't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you assist in the preparation of any such leaflets?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you confer with anyone regarding the putting out of those leaflets?

Miss ZITO. No. I am not smart or anything. I mean I didn't have much schooling, you know. I wouldn't take part in anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say "not much schooling." Did you have any schooling in the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. No. I mean regular school. I mean grammar school.

Mr. TAVENNER. I mean Communist Party school.

Miss ZITO. No; I wouldn't know anything about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You never attended any training within the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. No; never.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you in January or February 1953 attend courses in the work of the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. You did not? Were you acquainted with Bob Ekens?

Miss ZITO. No; I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not know him? You do not know who he was?



Miss ZITO. No; I don't know him.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were any educationals of the Communist Party conducted in your own home in 1953?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. Not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. Repeat your answer, please.

Miss ZITO. Not that I know of.

Mr. TAVENNER. The committee has information that there were 5 educationals of the Communist Party held in 1953 in Bridgeport, several of them in your home, and the rest of the 5 in the home of Lois Barnes. Does that refresh your recollection?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. I think I will refuse to answer on the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I merely asked you whether that refreshed your recollection.

Miss ZITO. I wouldn't know. I had people come to the house. I don't know what they were talking about.

Mr. TAVENNER. People came to your house and you did not know what they were talking about?

Miss ZITO. No. I mean I wouldn't know what—If I invite friends I wouldn't know what—I wouldn't know what anybody talks about. I am not that intelligent.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were intelligent enough to know whether or not it was a Communist Party meeting; weren't you?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. What?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. No; you were not?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Didn't you go to meetings of the same kind at Lois Barnes' house?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Lois Barnes?

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know her?

Miss ZITO. No; I don't. I have heard about her.

Mr. TAVENNER. But you do not know her. Do you know Harold Kent?

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. What is your answer?

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Harold Kent one of those who came to these meetings at your house when you say you did not know what they were talking about?

Mr. WILLIS. Make that question more direct. Just: Did Harold Kent ever go to your house.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. You take the fifth amendment.

Ask her questions about that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Miss Paumi?

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did Miss Paumi on any occasion come to your house?



Miss ZITO. The fifth.

Mr. WILLIS. What?

Miss ZITO. The fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you refuse to answer?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the course of the testimony here in September, Miss Paumi was asked various questions regarding her knowledge of Communist Party activities in Bridgeport. She was asked this question:

Give us the names of those who, to your certain knowledge, were members of the Bridgeport Club and were Communists.

And her answer was:

There were Josephine Willard, Frank Peterson, Louise Sito [Zito]—and certain other persons.

Was she telling the truth about that? I mean by that, were you a member of the Communist Party in Bridgeport?

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth on that.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to answer?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. The fifth.

Mr. WILLIS. You refuse to answer—

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. On the grounds of the fifth amendment?

Mr. TAVENNER. Miss Paumi was asked a question regarding the membership of certain other groups. One was at Success Park, and a group that was called the 12-B group of the Communist Party. She was asked this question:

Do you have a recollection of those who, to your certain knowledge, were Communist members of that unit?

mentioning the Success Park, the East End group, and the 12-B group all together. And her reply was:

Yes; they were Louis Barnes in this latter group, Louise Sito [Zito]. \* \* \*

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Was Miss Paumi correct in stating that you at one time were a member of this other group of the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Our investigation here has shown that the members of the Communist Party were directed by the leadership of the Communist Party to become active in certain groups or organizations.

Did you receive any such advice or direction?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you make any contributions to the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you solicit funds for the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you affiliated with the IWO?

Miss ZITO. No.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you here a photostatic copy of a nominating petition for November 1946 elections under the title and designation

of Communist Party, and will ask you to look at the fourth line from the bottom and state whose name appears there.

(The witness examines document and confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. You said the fourth line from the bottom?

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. Whose name appears on the fourth line from the bottom?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was just whose name appears there.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Read the name, please.

Miss ZITO. Louise Zito.

Mr. TAVENNER. Louise Zito?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is your name; is it not?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your signature?

Miss ZITO. Yes.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is.

I desire to offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Zito Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be so marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Zito Exhibit No. 1" and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1946 at the time that you signed that Communist election petition?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. I take the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. You refuse to answer.

Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1944 when you were naturalized at Bridgeport?

Miss ZITO. I didn't know of anything.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is that?

Miss ZITO. I don't know of anything in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. You do not know?

Miss ZITO. In no way political.

Mr. TAVENNER. Just a moment.

Miss ZITO. I never heard of anything in 1944.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then answer my question specifically instead of indirectly.

Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1944 when you were naturalized?

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Miss ZITO. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you do know something about what the situation was in 1944 if you are taking the fifth amendment. That is contrary to what you said a moment ago. If you knew nothing about it, there could be no possibility of your believing that you are in danger of prosecution for anything that occurred at that time.

(The witness confers with her counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. What did you mean when you said you didn't know anything in 1944?

Miss ZITO. I didn't understand the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Miss ZITO. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

The committee will take an informal recess.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

(The committee was reconvened at the expiration of the recess. Committee members present: Representatives Willis and Kearney.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will resume hearings, and counsel will call the next witness.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Stanley Michalowski.

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I do.

I have a request here, a written request to the committee, that no pictures be taken.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF STANLEY J. MICHALOWSKI, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JEROME CAPLAN

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I noticed also, Mr. Chairman, that you granted the request of the last witness, but they were taking pictures.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, is my request granted on the pictures?

Mr. WILLIS. That is right.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your name, please, sir?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Stanley Michalowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your last name, please.

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. M-i-c-h-a-l-o-w-s-k-i.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will counsel accompanying the witness please identify himself for the record?

Mr. CAPLAN. Jerome Caplan, C-a-p-l-a-n, 37 Lewis Street, Hartford, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born, Mr. Michalowski?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I was born in New Britain, July 27, 1918.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where do you now reside?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I reside in New Britain.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is your occupation or profession?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I am a lathe operator.

Mr. TAVENNER. At what plant?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Pratt-Whitney in West Hartford.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what type of manufacturing are they engaged?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. They build lathes, milling machines, gages, and so forth—plug gages.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed there?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I have been there for the past 15 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, briefly, what your formal educational training has been.

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I spent 8 years in a parochial school—Sacred Heart, of New Britain. I spent 4 years in the New Britain High School. I am a graduate of New Britain Senior High School.

Mr. TAVENNER. During the 15 years of your work at that plant, were you a member of the union having contractual rights with that company?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Yes, I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. What union is that?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. The UAW-CIO.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you held any official position in the union?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I did not hold any elective position in the union.

Mr. TAVENNER. What other positions have you held?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I had a position as chairman of the FEPC committee. I was chairman of the constitution committee.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Michalowski, are you acquainted with an address in New Haven, 37 Howe Street?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. No, I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended any meetings of the Communist Party in New Haven at 37 Howe Street?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. To the best of my knowledge, I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended any Communist Party meeting in New Haven?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. To the best of my knowledge, I have not.

Mr. TAVENNER. You say to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. That is correct.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that, do you mean you are in doubt as to whether or not you did?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I have no present recollection of ever attending any meetings of such type in New Haven.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended a meeting of that type in Hartford?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Let me see if I can refresh your recollection as to New Haven. Or, rather, let me put it this way because I may be wrong as to where the meeting was held:

Do you recall in 1953 that there was a meeting of the Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, the purpose of which was to arrive at some decision as to the delegates to be sent to the CIO convention?



(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether such a meeting was held in New Haven.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the fifth amendment—on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. A moment ago you told us that you did not recall ever having attended a Communist Party meeting in New Haven. Do you still stick to that, that you do not recall? Or has your mind now been refreshed by my reference to the Trade Union Commission meeting of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I still don't recall any meetings in New Haven.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then was the meeting of the Trade Union Commission held in Hartford instead of New Haven?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I did not say that.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you now say it?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, whether or not the leadership in the Communist Party in 1953 endeavored to have appointed as delegates by the union, CIO union, to the CIO convention in that year persons who were members of the Communist Party, or, if they could not succeed in getting their own membership elected as delegates, then to get sympathizers with the Communist Party in the CIO, or at least persons who could be influenced by the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I refuse to answer the question because of the rights granted me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. The information that the committee has is this: this was not just merely a meeting of representatives from Communist Party groups organized within trade unions, but that it was a meeting of persons selected as delegates from all groups of the Communist Party in the area, which means that the Communist Party decisions reached were that of the Communist Party itself, not of any special group within the Communist Party.

I want to check on that. I want to ascertain if that is correct.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. The same answer as previously. I decline to answer on the fifth amendment, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a "nominating petition for November 1946 elections under the title and designation of Communist Party." It purports to be a petition "for Representative at Large Michael A. Russo." The beginning paragraph is this:

The undersigned being duly qualified electors of the State of Connecticut pursuant to the provision of the law and the statutes of said State of Connecticut, hereby petition and request the foregoing names of candidates and the fore-



going enumeration of office, together with the designated nominees therefor be regularly placed upon the ballot or ballot labels for voting machines at the election to be held November 5, 1946 under the party designation of Communist Party.

Will you examine the copy, please, and advise the committee as to whose name appears on the second line.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. My name appears on this petition.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your handwriting?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Yes, that is my handwriting.

I would like to say that thousands of people signed the same petition for this candidate.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is correct.

I would like to ask you, at the time you signed that petition in 1946, were you a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. And refuse to answer?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. And refuse to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Stanley Michalowski Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WILLIS. The document will be received in evidence and so marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Stanley Michalowski Exhibit No. 1," and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. TAVENNER. I believe during the course of the Smith Act case you were identified by a witness by the name of Antonio Pires as having been a member of the Communist Party. You recall that; do you not?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Yes; I recall.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was his identification of you correct?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. That was in 1954.

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I invoke the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you acquainted with Antonio Pires?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. You were active, were you not, in the International Workers Order?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I wish to invoke the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Weren't you, in the year 1947, elected as a delegate to the national convention from Lodge 934 of the International Workers Order?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1947?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have knowledge at this time, this very year, of activities of the Communist Party in Hartford?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. CAPLAN. I don't understand the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Very well. I will repeat the question.

Mr. CAPLAN. The question is—

Do you mean present activities? Or does he have present knowledge of present or past activities?

Mr. TAVENNER. I will restate the question.

Do you have knowledge today of Communist Party activities in Hartford today, at this time?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Maybe I can make the question a little easier.

Mr. CAPLAN. We do understand it now.

Mr. TAVENNER. You understand. All right.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know who the present head of the Communist Party in Hartford is?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. No, I don't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Who was the head of the Communist Party there last year, in 1956?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I would like to invoke my privilege in the fifth amendment and refuse to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you at any time the head of the Communist Party in Hartford?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party now?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. No, I am not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1956?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I wish to invoke the fifth amendment on that question.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party in September of 1956 when these hearings were held by this committee in New Haven?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party yesterday?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean you refuse to tell this committee whether or not you were a member yesterday?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. The same answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. You mean by that, that you refuse to answer?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Just a minute.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I wasn't a member of the Communist Party yesterday.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party on January 1 of 1957?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party last week?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. TAVENNER. This is a tortuous way to get at the facts, but unless you will just—

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I will have to use the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party day before yesterday?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I will have to use the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Now, you were not a member of the Communist Party yesterday, but you will not state whether you were a member of the Communist Party day before yesterday.

Well, what happened night before last or day before yesterday that would make your decision hinge on this particular time?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state that I did not state I was a member of the Communist Party at any time. I just stated that I refused to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment in regard to my past activities, and I stated I am not a Communist Party member now.

You are implying that I am a Communist, I was a Communist Party member yesterday, or the day before yesterday, and so forth. I say that is not the case, and I made no such statement.

Mr. TAVENNER. I am assuming that you are acting in good faith in saying that you refuse to answer whether you were a member of the Communist Party day before yesterday because to do so might tend to incriminate you.

I want to know what has happened to make your answer different as to the following day. That tests your good faith in the claim that you are making.

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. But you are implying that I was a Communist Party member in the past. I have not admitted to such a thing. And your question implies that I was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you a member of the Communist Party day before yesterday? If there is any question about it, let's answer.

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer the question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right. And yesterday you were not a member.

Now what happened either yesterday or the day before yesterday to make that difference in your answer?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. In light of your answers, I must ask whether there is any plan or scheme on your part or the Communist Party—leave the Communist Party out of it and say on your part—to deny membership in the Communist Party for the purposes of this hearing before the committee.

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I would like to say that you are implying it again, and I refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, will you be a member of the Communist Party tomorrow?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I don't know if I will be alive tomorrow. How can you tell the future?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think we can assume that you will be in good health tomorrow as you are today.

If you are in good health, will you be considered a member of the Communist Party tomorrow?

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. No, I won't.

Mr. TAVENNER. Why?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. STANLEY MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. All right.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Ladislaus Michalowski.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF LADISLAUS JOSEPH MICHALOWSKI, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ROBERT SATTER

Mr. TAVENNER. May I ask you to exchange seats.

Mr. SATTER. The witness has a bad ear, and he says he can't hear.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. My ear is defective, and I have asked to exchange with counsel.

I have a request that there be no photographs or TV pictures taken while I am testifying.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please.

Mr. SATTER. May I just inquire whether the photographers heard this request and whether it is granted or not, please?

Mr. KEARNEY. The rules of the committee in that respect are only while the witness is testifying. There is no rule to prevent pictures being taken prior to testimony.

Mr. WILLIS. That is right, for this very simple reason: before a witness starts to testify, we have no jurisdiction or control over him. The free press must operate.

However, when the witness commences to testify, then he is under our jurisdiction; and if he has asked for the privilege of not being photographed, it will be accorded him. The rules will be enforced.

Proceed, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state your name, please.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Ladislaus Michalowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you spell your name, please.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. L-a-d-i-s-l-a-u-s M-i-c-h-a-l-o-w-s-k-i.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have a middle initial?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. J. Joseph.



Mr. TAVENNER. When and where were you born?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I was born in New Britain, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. It is noted that you have counsel accompanying you. Will counsel please identify himself for the record.

Mr. SATTER. Robert Satter, Hartford, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what your occupation is.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I am a machine operator at the Fenn Manufacturing Co., in Newington.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you state the name of the company again.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Fenn Manufacturing Co.

Mr. TAVENNER. In what business are they engaged?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. They, I believe, make helicopter parts as a subcontractor for another outfit, primarily I believe.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is that located? In Hartford?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. In Newington, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Would you move forward a little. Then I think the microphone will pick up your voice.

Will you tell the committee briefly what your formal educational training has been.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I went to parochial school in New Britain, through 6 grades, and then to the junior and senior high schools in New Britain, and I graduated from senior high school in 1933. And that has been the extent of it.

Mr. TAVENNER. How long have you been employed at the plant where you are now working?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Approximately 2½ years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Prior to that how were you employed?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I worked as a machine operator at the Sessions Clock Co. in Forestville, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. Over how long a period of time?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Oh, perhaps 2 or 3 years. I don't remember exactly. Roughly 2 or 3 years.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you give me the date when you were working at Forestville?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. It would be 1952, 1951 I believe; around that time. Between 1950 and 1952.

Mr. TAVENNER. 1952 to 1954. And then from 1954 on you were employed where?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. At the Fenn Manufacturing Co. I may not be exactly right. Let me just think of the dates.

Mr. WILLIS. The dates don't have to be fully accurate. We want a chronology of your employment to the best of your recollection. That is all.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. It is the correct chronology, but I would say 2½ years would bring me to 1954, roughly.

Mr. TAVENNER. Where is that plant located?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. It is located in Forestville, Conn.

Mr. TAVENNER. The second plant is?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. The second plant.

Mr. TAVENNER. How far is that from New Hartford—Forestville?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Forestville from New Britain, you mean?

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, from both?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Well, New Hartford. I don't know, because I don't know how far New Hartford—I know it is a small town in Connecticut, but I don't know its exact location. From New Britain it is about 8 or 9 miles.

Mr. TAVENNER. Mr. Michalowski, were you a delegate from a Communist Party group organization to a Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party in 1953?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the privileges granted me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Well, I am not asking you now whether you were present, but I will ask you whether you know where such a meeting was held, whether in New Haven or Hartford.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you at any time attend a Communist Party meeting in New Haven?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment, the privileges granted me.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting in Hartford?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. I hand you a photostatic copy of a nominating petition to place the name of Michael A. Russo on the ticket in 1946 for Representative at Large under the party designation of Communist Party, and I will ask you to look at the 12th line in that petition and state whose name appears there.

(The witness examines document and confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question based on the—

Mr. TAVENNER. My question was merely whose name appears there.

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. The name that appears there is Ladislaus Michalowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. You didn't read all of the name. Didn't you leave out the middle initials?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Ladislaus J. Michalowski.

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. That is precisely your name, is it not?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Yes, that is my name.

Mr. TAVENNER. Is that your signature?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. On the date that the petition was signed in the year 1946, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. I offer the document in evidence and ask that it be marked "Ladislaus Michalowski Exhibit No. 1."

Mr. WILLIS. The document will be received in evidence and so marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Ladislaus Michalowski Exhibit No. 1," and filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with an address in New Haven known as 37 Howe Street?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the privileges granted me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Have you attended meetings of any kind at 37 Howe Street in New Haven?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Mike Russo?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Robert Crane, C-r-a-n-e?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. Not to my knowledge, no.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you acquainted with Pearl Russo?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you know whether Mike Russo and Pearl Russo or either of them conducted training courses in the Communist Party at 37 Howe Street?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I don't know whether they did or not.

Mr. TAVENNER. Did you take part in any conference of the Communist Party designed to influence the selection of delegates from the CIO union to the CIO convention in 1953?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, who the head of the Communist Party in Connecticut is today?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I know from newspaper reports that Sidney Taylor speaks as the head of the Communist Party in Connecticut.

Mr. TAVENNER. Do you have any direct and personal information of your own on that subject?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. TAVENNER. Are you a member of the Communist Party at this time?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. Will you tell the committee, please, what knowledge you have regarding the activities of the Communist Party in your particular area at this time?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. By that I mean in what fields are they concentrating their effort? That is the principal thing that I want to know at this time.

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. My answer is the same.

Mr. TAVENNER. What is the strength of the Communist Party in your immediate area?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer it on the same grounds.

Mr. TAVENNER. In other words, you refuse to talk anything about communism at all. That is virtually the position that you are taking; is it not?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. If you ask me any specific question like that I would—

Mr. TAVENNER. Yes. If I ask you any specific question, you will refuse to answer. That is really what you mean; is it not?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. You will have to ask me the question, and then I would have to answer.

Mr. TAVENNER. I do not think it is of any use.

I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know Sidney Taylor to be in this room today?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. I decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. Did he hand you or others in the corridor this morning any literature of any kind?

(The witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. No.

Mr. WILLIS. He didn't hand any to you?

Mr. LADISLAUS MICHALOWSKI. He handed nothing to me.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Kearney?

Mr. KEARNEY. No questions.

Mr. WILLIS. The witness is excused.

Mr. TAVENNER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. As indicated at the beginning of the hearing yesterday, the testimony we received yesterday and today was a continuation and completion of the hearings commenced here in September of last year. At that time, because of the press for time and requests by witnesses for nonappearance that we regarded as meritorious, it was impossible to complete the hearings. Hence, the purpose of the hearings we had yesterday and today.

The witnesses who took the affirmative on the question of communism and the operations and machinations of the conspiracy in this area took the stand and disclosed their knowledge last year. As I said, the purpose of these 2 days' hearings was to complete the investigation in this area at this time.

I want, on behalf of the committee, to thank Federal Judge Anderson for the use of his courtroom, the marshal and his assistants, and the press, radio, and TV people, and particularly do I want to thank and, moreover, to commend the United States attorney in this area, Mr. Cohen, who cooperated so very kindly and effectively with us and the members of our staff.

This will complete the list of witnesses we are going to examine at these hearings.



Mr. Kearney, would you care to make any kind of a statement?

Mr. KEARNEY. No, I have nothing further to say, only to reiterate what the chairman has already stated, that you have my thanks also, the individuals named and the press.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Counsel, is there anything else?

Mr. TAVENNER. No, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Is there anything further we should say for the record?

Mr. TAVENNER. I think not.

Mr. WILLIS. Then that completes the hearing.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a. m., Wednesday, February 27, 1957, the subcommittee was recessed subject to the call of the Chair.)

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